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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church

DECEMBER, 1947

English Church History Number II

•
IN MEMORIAM: MARY KENT DAVEY BABCOCK

•
LIST OF OVER 200 CLERGYMEN LICENSED BY
THE BISHOPS OF LONDON FOR OVERSEAS
SERVICE, 1696-1710, AND 1715-1716

By John Clement

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THE BEGINNINGS OF ANGLICAN SISTERHOODS

By Thomas J. Williams

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SOME LETTERS OF BISHOP WILLIAM SKINNER
OF ABERDEEN, 1822-1827

Edited by Edgar L. Pennington

•
HENRY BEAVER, FIRST ANGLICAN CLERGYMAN
WEST OF THE ROCKIES. . . . *By Thomas E. Jessett*

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REVIEWS

•
INDEX TO VOLUME XVI (1947)

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY: \$1.25 THE COPY--\$4 THE YEAR

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church

PUBLISHED AT 5 PATERSON STREET, NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY, BY AUTHORITY OF GENERAL CONVENTION, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A JOINT COMMITTEE OF SAID CONVENTION, AND UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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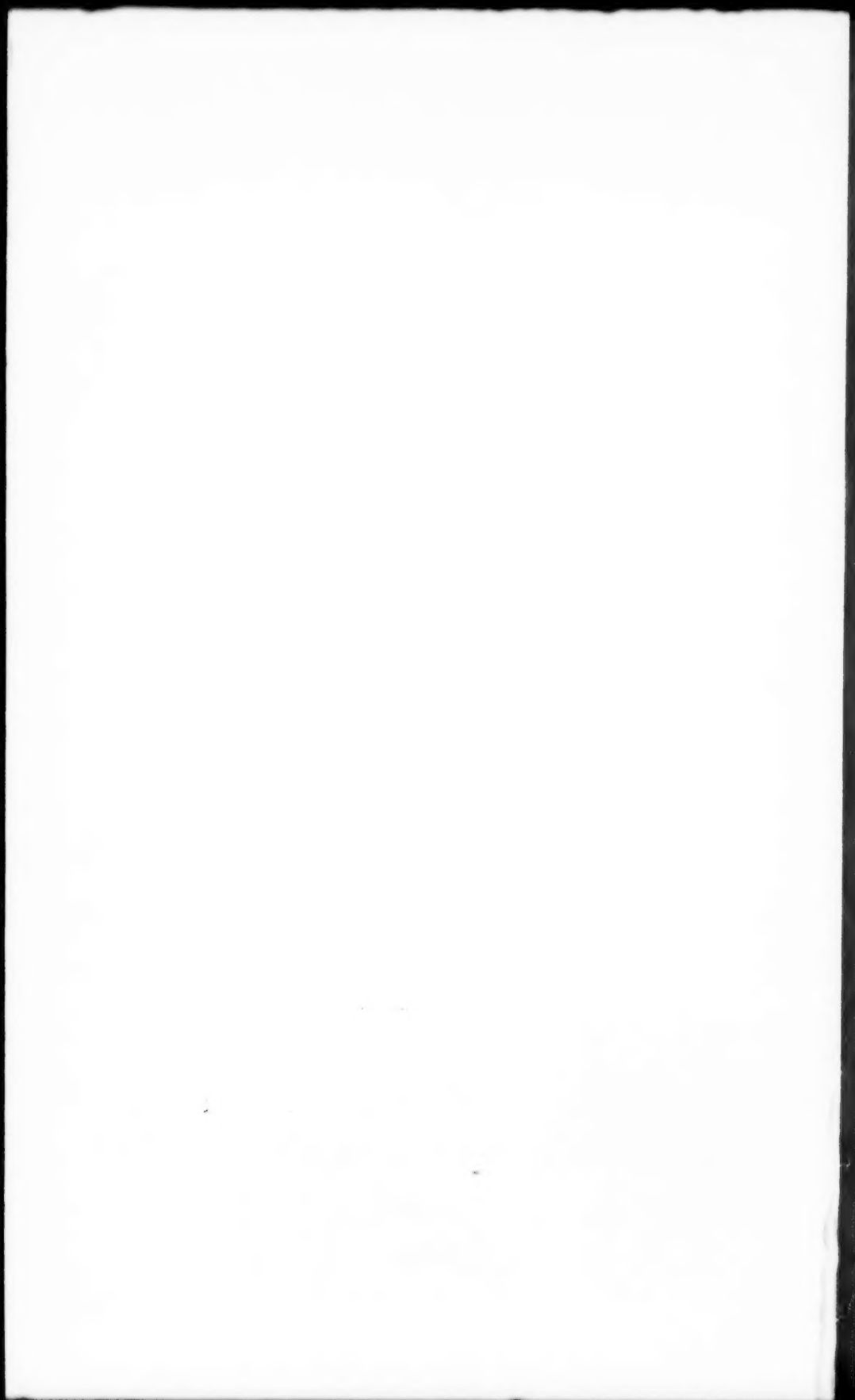
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Entered as second-class matter September 17, 1935, at the Post Office at New Brunswick, N. J., with additional entry at the Post Office at Richmond, Va., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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of the Protestant Episcopal Church

VOL. XVI

DECEMBER, 1947

No. 4

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
IN MEMORIAM: MARY KENT DAVEY BABCOCK.....	317
LIST OF OVER 200 CLERGYMEN LICENSED BY THE BISHOPS OF LONDON FOR OVERSEAS SERVICE, 1696- 1710, AND 1715-1716.....	318
<i>By John Clement</i>	
THE BEGINNINGS OF ANGLICAN SISTERHOODS.....	350
<i>By Thomas J. Williams</i>	
SOME LETTERS OF BISHOP WILLIAM SKINNER OF ABERDEEN, 1822-1827.....	373
<i>Edited by Edgar L. Pennington</i>	
HENRY BEAVER, FIRST ANGLICAN CLERGYMAN WEST OF THE ROCKIES.....	413
<i>By Thomas E. Jessett</i>	

BOOK REVIEWS

(Pages 433-442)

- The Oecumenical Ideals of the Oxford Movement* (by Henry R. T. Brandreth).....E. R. HARDY, JR.
- Gothic England: A Survey of National Culture, 1300-1350* (by John Harvey).....R. D. MIDDLETON
- A Plea for Further Missionary Activity in Colonial America—Dr. Thomas Bray's MISSIONALIA* (by Samuel C. McCulloch)
R. D. MIDDLETON
- Lights and Shadows of the Sacred Ministry* (by Archibald Campbell Knowles).....E. CLOWES CHORLEY
- Christianity Today: A Survey of the State of the Churches* (edited by Henry Smith Leiper).....E. CLOWES CHORLEY

- Towards the Conversion of England* (Report of a Commission on Evangelism).....E. CLOWES CHORLEY
- Christian Marriage* (by Floyd Van Keuren).....E. CLOWES CHORLEY
- Ancient Christian Writers. St. Augustine: Faith, Hope and Charity* (translated by Louis A. Arand).....E. CLOWES CHORLEY

ON THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH

I. PERSONAL

- Be Strong in the Lord* (by William T. Manning) ..E. CLOWES CHORLEY
- A Portrait of the Rt. Rev. Lucien Lee Kinsolving, First Bishop of the Mission Founded in Southern Brazil* (by Arthur B. Kinsolving)
E. CLOWES CHORLEY
- Cross on the Range: Missionary in Wyoming* (by Samuel E. West)
E. CLOWES CHORLEY

II. PAROCHIAL

- 125th Anniversary of Christ Church Cathedral, Louisville, Kentucky*
E. CLOWES CHORLEY
- The Story of Old St. John's, Providence, Rhode Island, 1722-1946* (by A. C. Larned).....E. CLOWES CHORLEY
- St. Mary's Annual Messenger: Golden Jubilee Issue* (St. Mary's Church, Sherwood Park, Yonkers, New York).....E. CLOWES CHORLEY
- Fifty Years of St. Stephen's Church, Woodlawn, New York*
E. CLOWES CHORLEY
- The Church of the Ascension, Mount Vernon, New York, 1896-1946*
E. CLOWES CHORLEY
- Christ Church, 1796-1946* (Lexington, Kentucky) ..E. CLOWES CHORLEY
- Two Hundred Years of Old Trinity, 1746-1946* (Trinity Cathedral, Newark, New Jersey).....E. CLOWES CHORLEY
- Christ Church, Ballston Spa, New York: The Story of a Parish* (by William A. Andrews).....GEORGE E. DE MILLE
- Grace Church, Albany, New York* (by Russell Carter)
GEORGE E. DE MILLE
- A History of the Parish of St. Ignatius in the City of New York, 1871-1946* (by Louis H. Gray).....E. CLOWES CHORLEY

INDEX TO VOLUME XVI (1947)

IN MEMORIAM

MARY KENT DAVEY BABCOCK

FEBRUARY 6, 1864-AUGUST 27, 1947

**WIFE OF THE LATE
RT. REV. SAMUEL G. BABCOCK, D. D.
BISHOP SUFFRAGAN OF
MASSACHUSETTS**

**AUTHOR OF
Christ Church, Boston, The Old North
Church of Paul Revere Fame: Historical
Sketches, Colonial Period, 1723-1775
(Boston, 1947, pp. 271)**

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BRARY OF THE CHURCH
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CIETY, PHILA-
DELPHIA**

REQUIESCAT IN PACE

CLERGYMEN LICENSED OVERSEAS BY THE BISHOPS OF LONDON, 1696-1710 AND 1715-1716

*Compiled by John Clement**

INTRODUCTION

In the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH for June, 1944,¹ there is a list of clergymen licensed to the American colonies by the bishops of London during the years 1745 to 1781, compiled by Dr. George Woodward Lamb from *Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society for the Year 1851*.²

Recently, in looking through some Rawlinson manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, I came across the following two lists:

- (A) "Subscriptions of 475 Clergy to the Oath by the Act of Uniformity taken before the Lord Bishop of London³ from October, 1696, to March, 1710."—*MSS. Rawlinson B. 375*.
[Over 200 of them were licensed for overseas service in America, the West Indies, &c.]
- (B) "A List of Eleven Clergymen licensed overseas by the Lord Bishop of London⁴ during 1715-1716."—*MSS. Rawlinson B. 376*.

These manuscripts were presented to the Bodleian Library at Oxford by Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755),⁵ topographer and nonjuring bishop. He was the son of Sir Thomas Rawlinson, lord mayor of London in 1705, and was educated at Eton College and St. John's College, Oxford. On September 21 and 23, 1716, he was ordained deacon and priest by the nonjuring bishop, Jeremy Collier; on March 25, 1728, he was consecrated a bishop among the nonjurors by Bishops Gandy,

*Mr. Clement is a layman of the Church in Llanelly, Carmarthenshire, Wales, who pursues research in Church history as a hobby. The value of his contribution to students of the expansion of the Anglican Communion will be patent to all our readers.—*Editor's note*.

¹Volume XIII, pp. 128-143.

²Not the present Church Historical Society, which was founded in 1910, but its predecessor, which existed but a few years.

³HENRY COMPTON (1632-1713), bishop of London (1675-1713).

⁴JOHN ROBINSON (1650-1723), bishop of London (1714-1723).

⁵*Dictionary of National Biography*, XLVII, 331-333.

Doughty, and Blackbourne, but he never exercised his office seriously. From an early age he directed himself to antiquarian pursuits, and collected a large library of rare books and manuscripts. He left all his manuscripts, about 5,700 in number, to the Bodleian Library, and among them are the manuscripts of Henry Newman, the American-born secretary of the S. P. C. K. from 1708 to 1743.

Richard's brother, Thomas Rawlinson (1681-1725),⁶ was also a great collector of rare books, manuscripts and pictures, and his collection is at the Bodleian Library.

THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY

The Act of Uniformity was passed in 1662 in the reign of Charles II, and every clergyman, on being licensed to a curacy, vicarship, rectorship, or any other preferment in the Church, had to sign a solemn declaration, of which the following is a sample:

"I—STEPHEN LION—to be admitted to Ministerial function in the Barbados—do declare that I will conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is now established by law.—7 December 1696."

Some names are included in the list on two dates:

JOHN HUMPHREYS	20 March 1698
	1 December 1698
JAMES HONYMAN	23 March 1702/03
	8 July 1708

The explanation for this duplication is as follows:

"When a clergyman returned to colonial parochial work, it was necessary for him to obtain the commendation of the then bishop [of London], whatever may have been the date of his first colonial appointment, and include his ordination oath in his credentials."⁷

I have included as Part III of this article a list of fifty-six clergymen⁸ from Gerald Fothergill, *A List of Emigrant Ministers to America, 1690-1811* (London, 1904), who are not included in the "Declaration of Uniformity List." Fothergill's *List* was compiled from the records

⁶*Dictionary of National Biography*, XLVII, 334-335.

⁷See *William and Mary College Quarterly*, October, 1943, p. 486.

⁸If CHRISTOPHER PLATTS in the Declaration of Uniformity List and FRANCIS PLATT in the Fothergill *List* are one and the same person, as seems probable, the number is reduced to fifty-five. (See below, Part II, and Part III, Section III.)

of ministers who received the king's bounty of £20 on going overseas. Since the bishop of London had then the jurisdiction (however limited) over all of the Anglican Church's overseas colonial work, it may be asked, "How did this number fail to appear on the "Declaration of Uniformity List"? The overseas clergymen may have been ordained by any one of a number of British bishops, and although all were supposed to have obtained the bishop of London's license before leaving for the colonies, they did not always do so. George Hudson, who received the king's bounty for Virginia on July 25, 1694, was brought before the Council of State in Virginia on April 16, 1695, for having come to Virginia without the bishop of London's license, and was reprimanded, but permitted to exercise his ministry nevertheless.⁹

While there are some 55 or 56 clergymen on Fothergill's *List* who are not on the "Declaration of Uniformity List," the latter has some 67 which are not on the former; and it is this fact which gives the Declaration of Uniformity List its unique importance, in addition to its value for checking and comparing with the Fothergill *List*.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE EXPANSION OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION

1. Judging by the number of clergymen licensed each year for overseas service, it is apparent that the year 1698 was a turning point in the expansion of the Anglican Communion.

Adding together those in the Declaration of Uniformity List and those in the Fothergill *List* (eliminating duplications), we have the following results:

NUMBER OF CLERGYMEN LICENSED OVERSEAS EACH YEAR IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

1690: 1	1695: 13	1700: 30	1705: 22
1691: 1	1696: 6	1701: 17	1706: 7
1692: 4	1697: 13	1702: 13	1707: 20
1693: none	1698: 32	1703: 18	1708: 17
1694: 2	1699: 18	1704: 17	1709: 29

NUMBER OF CLERGYMEN LICENSED OVERSEAS EACH YEAR IN ORDER OF HIGHEST NUMBER

1698: 32	1699: 18	1695: 13	1692: 4
1700: 30	1703: 18	1697: 13	1694: 2
1709: 29	1701: 17	1702: 13	1690: 1
1705: 22	1704: 17	1706: 7	1691: 1
1707: 20	1708: 17	1696: 6	1693: none

⁹See below, Part III, Section III.

Total number, 20 years, 1690-1709	280
Average number per year	14
Total number, 15 years, 1695-1709	272
Average number per year	18
Total number, 12 years, 1698-1709	240
Average number per year	20

The S. P. C. K. was founded in 1698, and the S. P. G. in 1701.

2. In the leadership which stimulated and directed this new vigor of the Anglican Church, Dr. Henry Compton,¹⁰ bishop of London, and Dr. Thomas Bray,¹¹ founder of the S. P. C. K. and the S. P. G., are pre-eminent.

3. In the period covered by these two lists, the Anglican Church overseas was almost entirely staffed by British-born clergymen—from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Only two American born priests are listed: Samuel Myles, of King's Chapel, Boston, and William Vesey, of Trinity Church, New York—both born in New England.

4. These British-born clergymen found extreme difficulty in adapting themselves to the climate of the New World. In America the winters were much colder and the summers much hotter than they were accustomed to. The process of acclimatization was hard. They fell ready victims to malaria and other tropical or sub-tropical diseases. Professor Frank J. Klingberg, who has made an intensive study of the letters of the missionaries of the S. P. G., states that South Carolina, for example, was built up by sick people. In the moral collapse which some of these British-born clergy experienced in America, their physical debility may have been a factor and must be taken into account.

5. Because of the difficulties inherent in living in a vastly different climate, and because of the general harshness involved in a pioneer life, the death rate among the colonial clergy was correspondingly high during this period. This, at any rate, is the conclusion which a survey of

¹⁰It is one of the puzzles of modern scholarship that no full length biography of Henry Compton has yet appeared. Practically all we have is the sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography* by S. L. Lee, and the brochure by Charles P. Keith, *Henry Compton, Bishop of London* (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1920), pp. 24. The former tells us nothing about his relations to the Church overseas, and the latter is too brief. Compton was a leading figure in a critical period, and his leadership in the expansion of the Anglican Church is not the least important part of a striking career.

¹¹No full length biography of Thomas Bray exists. The best to date is John W. Lydekker, *Thomas Bray, 1658-1730: Founder of Missionary Enterprises*, in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XII (1943), pp. 186-224, which was reprinted by the Church Historical Society (Philadelphia, 1943, Publication No. 14). The American historian, Dr. Samuel C. McCulloch, is preparing a full length biography of Dr. Bray.

the biographical data at present available impresses upon us. Almost all of these overseas clergymen had been trained at the great British universities. It cost not merely money, but lives—the lives of men highly trained, considering the times—to preach the Gospel and administer the sacraments “as this Church hath received the same.” Too long have the worthy among them been “unhonored and unsung.” Yet these British-born clergymen continued going overseas until native-born Americans were ordained in sufficient numbers to man the American churches, and, finally, following the War of Independence, to found an autonomous Church.

PART I

SECTION 1

LIST OF OVER TWO HUNDRED CLERGYMEN WHO SIGNED THE DECLARATION OF UNIFORMITY ON BEING LICENSED OVERSEAS BY THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON— HENRY COMPTON—FROM OCTOBER, 1696, TO MARCH, 1710

[*Rawlinson Manuscripts, B 375, Bodleian Library, Oxford*]

[For biographical data concerning most of these clergymen, see below, Part II]

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
1696		
LION, Stephen	7 December 1696	Barbados
COCKSHUTT, Thomas	7 December 1696	Maryland
SEWELL, Richard	7 December 1696	Maryland
BORDLEY, Stephen	7 December 1696	Maryland
1697		
JONES, Sylvanus	14 January 1696/7	Barbados
MIDDLETON, James	19 January 1696/7	Barbados
WHARTON, Gilbert	5 April 1697	Barbados
TODD, Thomas	30 April 1697	Bahamas
WHITE, John	29 July 1697	New England
VESEY, William	2 August 1697	New York City
PAXTON, Alexander	2 August 1697	New England
NOBBES, Benjamin	30 November 1697	Church of Philadelphia
BURCHALL, Daniel	8 December 1697	Island Nevis
SMITH, Guy	28 December 1697	Virginia
FORTESTER, George	28 December 1697	Island of Jamaica
TABOR, Richard	28 December 1697	Island of Jamaica
TROTTER, GEORGE	31 December 1697	Maryland
1698		
HOWELLS, Thomas	10 January 1697/8	Maryland
PLATTS, Christopher	10 January 1697/8	Maryland
HALL, Henry	10 January 1697/8	Maryland
MARSHALL, Samuel	11 January 1697/8	Carolina
TOPP, Edward	15 January 1697/8	Maryland
CLAYTON, Thomas	19 January 1697/8	Maryland
COLBATCH, Joseph	25 February 1697/8	Maryland
PASMERE, Henry	26 February 1697/8	Island of Jamaica
HUMPHREYS, John	20 March 1697/8	Cape Coast, Guinea
LANE, Basil	30 March 1698	Lisbon, Portugal

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
PORTLOCK, Edward	3 April 1698	New Jersey
WEBB, William	12 April 1698	Barbados
FLEURY, Peter	19 April 1698	Barbados
STUART, Robert	18 May 1698	Island of Jamaica
WORMELL, Bart	21 May 1698	Bermudas
POWELL, John	8 June 1698	Leeward Islands
BUXTON, John	10 June 1698	Leeward Islands
MATHEWS, Maurice	3 September 1698	Guinea, Africa
BRIDGE, Christopher	19 September 1698	Boston, New England
HESKITH, Thomas	4 November 1698	Leeward Islands
EDWARDS, Benjamin	29 November 1698	East India Co.
HUMPHREYS, John	1 December 1698	St. Helena
CLARKE, Thomas	2 December 1698	East India Co.
YATES, Robert	15 December 1698	Virginia
PITT, Philip	18 December 1698	East India

1699

WALBANK, Augustine	5 March 1698/9	Maryland
POXEN, Thomas	1 May 1699	Island of Jamaica
WALTON, Thomas	25 May 1699	Barbados or Antigua
BOSTON, John	26 July 1699	Island of Jamaica
OWEN, Robert	12 August 1699	Maryland
RUDD, William	12 August 1699	Virginia
MORRISON, John	6 September 1699	Leeward Islands
WHITE, Jonathan	25 September 1699	Maryland
ALLARDES, Thomas	27 September 1699	Virginia
WALKER, Alexander	29 September 1699	Virginia
SHARPE, Thomas	2 October 1699	Virginia
WHATELY, Solomon	11 October 1699	Virginia
YOUNG, George	13 October 1699	Virginia
MARSTON, Edward	13 October 1699	Carolina
SAUNDERS, John	24 October 1699	Virginia
KIPPAX, Peter	1 November 1699	Virginia
POUND, James	20 November 1699	China
ADAMS, Benjamin	14 December 1699	Bay of Bengal, India

1700

HACKETT, William	8 January 1699/1700	Gambiago, Africa
GREENE, Edward	27 February 1699/1700	Island of Jamaica
WHITFIELD, James	10 April 1700	Leeward Islands
CHADWICK, Lewis	10 April 1700	Leeward Islands
MARTIN, James	9 May 1700	Lisbon
JONES, Emanuel	28 May 1700	Virginia
EVANS, Evan	6 July 1700	Philadelphia, Pa.
BASKEN, James	16 July 1700	Virginia
BERESFORD, Samuel	27 August 1700	Barbados
FRASER, John	29 August 1700	Virginia
BURNETT, Thomas	30 August 1700	Virginia
YATES, Bartholomew	3 September 1700	Virginia
BOTHUN, David	5 September 1700	Maryland
ANDREWS, William	4 October 1700	Virginia
MARSDEN, Richard	22 October 1700	Maryland
JUSTICE, Adam	22 October 1700	Barbados
COLLINS, William	22 October 1700	Island of Jamaica
CARNEGIE, John	26 October 1700	Virginia
LONDON, John	9 November 1700	East India
CUNINGHAME, John	19 November 1700	Island of Jamaica
NISBITT, James	27 November 1700	Gambia, Africa
LATANE, Lewis	2 December 1700	Virginia
GORDON, William	30 December 1700	Barbados
BARON, Robert	31 December 1700	Bermudas

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
1701		
JONES, Hugh	23 February 1700/1	Maryland
ROGERSON, William	25 February 1700/1	Leeward Islands
JACKSON, John	28 March 1701	Newfoundland (St. John's Town)
D'EMILLIANE, Gabriel	11 April 1701	Maryland
BARON, Humbershon	26 April 1701	Maryland
SHARPE, John	26 April 1701	Maryland
KEITH, Robert	26 April 1701	Maryland
BORDMAN, Pierse	6 May 1701	Leeward Islands
EDWARDS, John	10 May 1701	Maryland
TIBBS, William	10 May 1701	Maryland
FULLWOODE, Samuel	7 June 1701	Barbados
LLOYD, Edward	28 June 1701	Island of Jamaica
BODDYCOTT, Moses	17 September 1701	Leeward Islands
LOCKIER, John	11 November 1701	Rhode Island
ANDERSON, William	19 November 1701	Bay of Bengal, India
1702		
MOTT, Edmund	27 February 1701/2	New York
GORDON, Patrick	30 March 1702	New York
ALSISS [?], William	27 May 1702	Island of Jamaica
RAINSFORD (or RANSFORD), Giles	22 June 1702	Maryland
BARTOW, John	22 June 1702	New York
TILLYARD, Arthur	23 June 1702	Maryland
THOMAS, Samuel	2 July 1702	Carolina
EDWARDS, Thomas	2 October 1702	Virginia
SQUIRE, Richard	2 October 1702	Virginia
JONES, Evan	1 November 1702	Antigoa
1703		
WILLIAMS, James	17 January 1702/3	Africa
SMITH, James	25 January 1702/3	Virginia
HONYMAN, James	23 March 1702/3	Long Island, New York
HOLLAND, Thomas	23 March 1702/3	Bermudas
NICOLS, Henry	27 July 1703	Uplands, Pennsylvania
GRACE, Isaac	31 July 1703	Virginia
WOTTON, James	3 August 1703	Maryland
ADAMS, Alexander	9 August 1703	Maryland
WAGENER, Peter	9 August 1703	Maryland
BLAIR, John	11 August 1703	Carolina
BARCLAY, William	11 August 1703	New England
JONES, Owen	17 August 1703	Virginia
PRITCHARD, Thomas	15 November 1703	New York
1704		
CRAWFORD, Thomas	7 February 1703/4	Dover, Pennsylvania
STUART, Alexander	7 February 1703/4	Bedford, N. Y.
URQUHART, William	12 February 1703/4	Jamaica, Long Island, N. Y.
MOORE, Thomas (Thoroughgood)	25 February 1703/4	Iregeois, America
JENNINGS, William	6 March 1703/4	Leeward Islands
JOHNSTONE, William	6 March 1703/4	Island of Jamaica
CLUBB, John	13 April 1704	Pennsylvania
BUCHANAN, Mathew	31 July 1704	New York
VANDELURE, Michael	2 December 1704	Leeward Islands
RAWLINS, Thomas	2 December 1704	Lisbon, Portugal
WILLIAMS, Charles	6 December 1704	Guinea, Africa
GARBRAND, Thomas	27 December 1704	Island of Jamaica

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
1705		
BUTLER, Edward	26 February 1704/5	Virginia
BROOK, John	15 March 1704/5	East Jersey
JENNINGS, Henry	28 March 1705	Maryland
OGLE, Henry	5 April 1705	Virginia
HOWELL, Thomas	14 April 1705	Island of Jamaica
MACKENZIE, Aeneas	17 April 1705	New York
ROSS, George	17 April 1705	Newcastle, Pa.
LLOYD, Thomas	11 May 1705	Bermudas
SMITH, Andrew	29 May 1705	Island of Jamaica
OUTLAW, Samuel	31 May 1705	Leeward Islands
RICE, Jacob	3 June 1705	Newfoundland
GUY, William	6 June 1705	New York
BRISE, Edward	4 July 1705	Bridgetown
TOOKERMAN, Josiah	3 November 1705	Antigua
WRIGHT, George	10 December 1705	Leeward Islands
1706		
AUCHINLECK, Andrew	10 January 1705/6	Carolina
DUNN, William	12 January 1705/6	Carolina
ROBERTSON, Robert	9 February 1705/6	Leeward Islands
RAY, James	28 March 1706	Island of Jamaica
HOWLETT, John	10 April 1706	Leeward Islands
JOHNSTON, Andrew	4 July 1706	West Indies
1707		
SHANKS, Edward	4 February 1706/7	Island of Jamaica
SHEPHEARD, Richard	19 February 1706/7	Virginia
CORDINER, William	7 March 1706/7	Maryland
JENKINS, Thomas	2 April 1707	Appoquinimick, Penn.
BLACK, William	7 April 1707	Sussex Co., Penn.
MAULE, Robert	28 April 1707	South Carolina
O'BRYEN, Chr.	2 May 1707	Virginia
EVANS, Jonathan	27 May 1707	Virginia
WEEKES, Richard	27 May 1707	Island of Jamaica
PHILLIPS, Thomas	29 May 1707	Leeward Islands
WOOD, Alexander	29 May 1707	Carolina
BARCLAY, Thomas	31 May 1707	New York
ADAMS, James	27 September 1707	N. Carolina
GORDON, William	27 September 1707	N. Carolina
MYLNE, Francis	3 November 1707	Virginia
JOHNSTONE, Gideon	26 November 1707	Carolina
1708		
THOMSON, James	25 January 1707/8	Island of Jamaica
CUNNINGHAM, Charles	13 February 1707/8	Barbados
HINDMAN, James	21 February 1707/8	Maryland
GLEN, William	21 February 1707/8	Maryland
LAPIERRE, John	23 February 1707/8	Carolina
FORBES, Robert	13 March 1707/8	Carolina
GLASGOW, John	13 March 1707/8	Leeward Islands
SCOT, Robert	19 March 1707/8	Maryland
MATTLAND, John	19 March 1707/8	Carolina
JONES, James	20 March 1707/8	Island of Jamaica
CARGILL, John	28 April 1708	Virginia
WOODSIDE, Frederick	28 April 1708	Leeward Islands
HARRIS, Henry	14 May 1708	New England
TENNANT, James	25 May 1708	Virginia
HONYMAN, James	8 July 1708	Newport, Rhode Island
SKAIFE, John	9 September 1708	Virginia
JONES, Robert	30 November 1708	Fort St. George, East Indies

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
1709		
WATSON, George	6 January 1708/9	Bombay, India
OGLIVIE, Walter	7 January 1708/9	Island of Jamaica
CLARE, George	13 January 1708/9	Island of Jamaica
SPENCE, James	15 January 1708/9	Island of Jamaica
GOODWIN, Benjamin	5 March 1708/9	Virginia
LEWIS, Roger	20 April 1709	Virginia
CUMMING, George	21 April 1709	Island of Jamaica
REYNOLDS, James	26 April 1709	Rye, N. Y.
VAUGHAN, Edward	3 May 1709	East Jersey
McNOE, Robert	19 June 1709	Virginia
FABER, Tanaquillus	19 June 1709	Virginia
BRODY, William	19 June 1709	Virginia
BOYD, Andrew	19 June 1709	Virginia
AGNEW, Andrew	19 June 1709	Virginia
HUDSON, Edward	19 June 1709	Virginia
WALLIS, Samuel	8 August 1709	Virginia
SINCLAIR, Robert	— August 1709	Pennsylvania
PAXTON, Robert	21 October 1709	Virginia
BAILLIE, Andrew	25 October 1709	Barbados
FINNEY, William	29 October 1709	Virginia
GIGNILLAT (Giquillet), James	12 November 1709	S. Carolina
COLBY, Samuel	12 December 1709	Island of Jamaica
TONKE, Thomas	12 December 1709	Island of Jamaica
GUTHRIE, William	15 December, 1709	Island of Jamaica
HAEGER, John Frederick	20 December, 1709	Palatine, N. Y.
POYER, Thomas	23 December, 1709	Jamaica, Long Island, N. Y.
1710		
MAY, John	4 January 1709/10	Virginia
JAMESSONE (or JAMESON), John	7 February, 1709/10	Virginia
URMSTON, John	17 February, 1709/10	N. Carolina
FORBES, Alexander	6 March, 1709/10	Virginia

SECTION II

OTHER CLERGYMEN WHO WERE LICENSED OVERSEAS DURING
1696-1710 BUT NOT INCLUDED IN THE PRECEDING LIST

LEJAU, Francis	1700	West Indies
KEITH, George	1702	Itinerant Missionary N. America
EBURN, Samuel	1703	New England
McQUEEN (or MACQUEEN), George	1703	Maryland
THOMAS, John	1704	Long Island, N. Y.
TALBOT, John	1705	New Jersey
HASELL (or HASSEL), Thomas	1705	South Carolina
MUIRSON, George (a Scotsman)	1705	New York
BONDET, Daniel (a French Minister)	1709	New York

SECTION III

NAMES OF CLERGYMEN LICENSED TO SERVE OVERSEAS, 1715-1716

[Rawlinson Manuscripts, B 376, Bodleian Library, Oxford]

Name	Ordination	Province or Area
1715		
SCOTT, John A. M. Deacon	15 January 1715	Jamaica
FOUNTAIN, Peter A. B. Deacon	19 February 1715	Virginia
GRIFFITHS, Samuel A. B. Priest	26 February 1715	St. Christopher, America
KNOX, John A. M. Deacon	11 December 1715	St. Christopher, America
POPE, Henry A. M. Priest	11 December 1715	Leeward Islands
LOVE, Charles A. M. Deacon	11 December 1715	Barbados
HUGHES, Thomas A. B. Priest	18 December 1715	America
TREVOR, William	18 December 1715	America
1716		
SHEPPARD, Thomas A. B. Deacon	8 July 1716	America
MORGAN, Sutton A. B. Deacon	8 July 1716	America
JONES, Hugh A. M. Priest	23 September 1716	Virginia

PART II

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CLERGYMEN LICENSED
OVERSEAS BY THE BISHOPS OF LONDON,
1696-1710 AND 1715-1716

Note: I am indebted to Dr. Walter H. Stowe for arranging in alphabetical order Sections I, II, and III, of Part I, to make Part II, for the greater convenience of students; and also for adding to my biographical notes data from sources in America not readily available to me in Wales.

I wish also to express my gratitude to Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon, historiographer of the diocese of Virginia, for supplying notes from diocesan records on most of the clergy who served in Virginia. Data supplied by him will be indicated thus [Brydon].

It is to be regretted that the like amount of data on the clergy who served in Maryland, or were listed for Maryland (and they were many), is not available.

The alphabetical arrangement of the clergy in the Fothergill *List* will be found below as Section III of Part III.

A bibliography of works consulted for biographical data will be found below as Part IV.

PART II

ALPHABETICAL LIST

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Declaration of Uniformity</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
A		
ADAMS, Alexander ¹	August 9, 1703	Maryland
ADAMS, Benjamin	December 14, 1699	Bay of Bengal, India
ADAMS, James ²	September 27, 1707	North Carolina
AGNEW, Andrew ³	June 19, 1709	Virginia
ALLARDES (or ALLARDIS), Thomas ⁴	September 27, 1699	Virginia
ALSISS(?), William	May 27, 1702	Island of Jamaica
ANDERSON, William ⁵	November 19, 1701	Bay of Bengal, India
ANDREWS, William ⁶	October 4, 1700	Virginia
AUCHINLECK, Andrew ⁷	January 10, 1705/6	Carolina
B		
BAILLIE, Andrew	October 25, 1709	Barbados
BARCLAY, Thomas ⁸	May 31, 1707	New York
BARCLAY, William ⁹	August 11, 1703	New England
BARON, Robert	December 31, 1700	Bermudas
BARON, Humbershon	April 26, 1701	Maryland
BARTOW, John ¹⁰	June 22, 1702	New York
BASKEN, James ¹¹	July 16, 1700	Virginia
BERESFORD, Samuel ¹²	August 27, 1700	Barbados
BLACK, William ¹³	April 7, 1707	Sussex Co., Penn.
BLAIR, John ¹⁴	August 11, 1703	Carolina

¹ALEXANDER ADAMS had been serving the whole county of Somerset, Maryland, since 1707 when, in 1711, he appealed to the bishop of London for financial assistance because of his straitened circumstances. He was accordingly aided by the S. P. G. in 1711-12, and again in 1716. [See Pascoe, p. 851.]

²JAMES ADAMS (d. October 30, 1710) had been a curate of Castlemore &c., Ireland, 1702-1707. One of the first two S. P. G. missionaries to North Carolina. Served Pascoetank and Carotuck Precincts 1708-1710. [See Pascoe, p. 850.]

³ANDREW AGNEW was ordained for Virginia, June 19, 1709, and received the king's bounty, Virginia, July 1, 1709. No record of him found in Virginia. [Brydon.]

⁴THOMAS ALLARDES (or ALLARDIS) was ordained for Virginia, September 27, 1699. He died at Williamsburg in 1701. [Brydon.]

⁵WILLIAM ANDERSON was a graduate of St. John's College, Oxford. Chaplain, East India Company.

⁶WILLIAM ANDREWS: Lincoln College, Oxford, B. A., 1695. Ordained for Virginia, October 4, 1700. Minister of St. Mary's Parish, Essex (later Caroline) County, 1701-1704; minister, Hungars Parish, Northampton County, 1704-1708. Presumably he returned to England. Selected by the archbishop of Canterbury as S. P. G. missionary to the Indians, Albany, New York, 1712-1719. [Brydon; Pascoe, pp. 70-71; G. E. DeMille, *History of the Diocese of Albany* (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1946), pp. 3-5; F. J. Klingberg, *Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York* (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1940) pp. 63-70.]

⁷ANDREW AUCHINLECK did not go to the Carolinas, but to Bermuda. [See Pascoe, p. 103.]

⁸THOMAS BARCLAY (d. circa 1726) was the younger son of a noble Scottish house, who was in middle life when he was ordained: deacon, May 22, 1707; priest, May 31, 1707, by the bishop of London. Garrison chaplain, Albany, New York, from June 9, 1708. S. P. G. missionary at Albany from October 21, 1709. Thereafter founder of St. Peter's Parish, Albany, and under his leadership the first church was built. His poverty and troubles precipitated insanity. [See Joseph Hooper, *History of St. Peter's Church in the City of Albany* (Albany, 1900), pp. 46-65; DeMille, *op. cit.*, 12-14; Klingberg, *op. cit.*, index *passim*.]

⁹WILLIAM BARCLAY was S. P. G. missionary at Braintree, Massachusetts, 1704-1705; returned to England. [Pascoe, p. 852; Perry, W. S., *Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church: Massachusetts* (1873), pp. 73, 84, 85, 220.]

¹⁰JOHN BARTOW had been vicar of Pampisford, Cambridge. He was the second S. P. G. missionary in the province of New York, serving Westchester, 1702-1725. He died, 1725. [Pascoe, pp. 58, 855.]

¹¹JAMES BASKEN was ordained July 16, 1700, for Virginia, and received the king's bounty July 17, 1700. No record of him has been found in Virginia. [Brydon.]

¹²SAMUEL BERESFORD graduated from St. John's College, Oxford, B. A., 1698; M. A., 1700.

¹³WILLIAM BLACK was born in Dumfries about 1679. He received the king's bounty for "one of the Jerseys" September 5, 1706, but he never served there. S. P. G. missionary at Lewes, Sussex County, Delaware (which in colonial times had the same governor as Pennsylvania) 1708-1709. Resigned. Minister of Accomack Parish, Accomack County, Virginia, from 1709 until his death c. 1737. [Brydon; also, N. W. Rightmyer, *The Anglican Church in Delaware* (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1947) index *passim*.]

¹⁴THE REV. JOHN BLAIR visited the Province [of North Carolina] in 1704 as an itinerant missionary, supported by Lord Weymouth, but returned the same year enfeebled with poverty and sickness, having found it "the most barbarous place in the Continent." [Pascoe, p. 20] [See also, E. L. Pennington, *The Beginning of the Church of England in North Carolina*, pp. 17-19.]

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Declaration of Uniformity</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
BODDYCOTT, Moses	September 17, 1701	Leeward Islands
BONDET, Daniel ¹⁵	1709	New York
BORDLEY, Stephen	December 7, 1696	Maryland
BORDMAN, Pierse	May 6, 1701	Leeward Islands
BOSTON, John	July 26, 1699	Island of Jamaica
BOTHUN, David	September 5, 1700	Maryland
BOYD, Andrew ¹⁶	June 19, 1709	Virginia
BRIDGE, Christopher ¹⁷	September 19, 1698	Boston, New England
BRISE, Edward	July 4, 1705	Bridgetown (Barbados)
BRODY (or BRODIE), William ¹⁸	June 19, 1709	Virginia
BROOK (or BROOKE), John ¹⁹	March 15, 1704/5	East Jersey
BUCHANAN, Mathew ²⁰	July 31, 1704	New York
BURCHALL, Daniel ²¹	December 8, 1697	Island Nevis (Leeward Islands)
BUXTON, John	June 10, 1698	Leeward Islands
BURNETT, Thomas ²²	August 30, 1700	Virginia
BUTLER, Edward ²³	February 26, 1704/5	Virginia
C		
CARGILL, John ²⁴	April 28, 1708	Virginia
CARNEGIE (or KERNEGUY), John ²⁵	October 26, 1700	Virginia
CHADWICK, Lewis ²⁶	April 10, 1700	Leeward Islands
CLARE, George ²⁷	January 13, 1708/9	Island of Jamaica
CLARKE, Thomas	December 2, 1698	East India Company

¹⁵DANIEL BONDET was a French Protestant minister in New Rochelle, New York, who, with most of his congregation, conformed to the Church of England. He was ordained, 1709, by the bishop of London, and returned as the S. P. G. missionary in that place, 1709-1722. He died 1722. [Pascoe, pp. 58, 855.]

¹⁶ANDREW BOYD was ordained for Virginia June 19, 1709; and received the king's bounty for Virginia July 1, 1709. No record of him found in Virginia. [Brydon.]

¹⁷CHRISTOPHER BRIDGE was appointed assistant to the Rev. Samuel Myles of King's Chapel, Boston, where he arrived March 4, 1699. "A man of parts and a good preacher." Friction developed between Myles and Bridge. The bishop of London had him transferred to Narragansett, Rhode Island, 1706. Moved to Rye, New York, 1709, where he died, "much lamented," May 22, 1719. [See, E. L. Pennington, in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XI (1942), pp. 158, 160, 162.]

¹⁸WILLIAM BRODY (or BRODIE) was ordained for Virginia June 17, 1709, and received the king's bounty for Virginia June 25, 1709. Minister of St. Peter's Parish, New Kent County, from 1710 until his death in 1720. [Brydon.]

¹⁹JOHN BROOK (or BROOKE), M. A., had been curate of Ardsley, Wakefield. S. P. G. missionary, Hempstead, L. I., New York, 1705; Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, 1705-1707. He performed divine service at seven places, 50 miles in extent. Besides preaching, he used to catechize and expound fourteen times in a month. This obliged him to be on horseback almost every day. "It is plain that Mr. Brooke was an earnest, zealous, self-sacrificing missionary, and that he possessed, in an eminent degree, the faculty of arousing the people to a sense of their duty. Under God, to him does St. John's Church owe its early prosperous existence; and the foundations which he laid were so well cemented, and so strong, that they have never been removed or shaken." [Samuel A. Clark, *The History of St. John's Church, Elizabeth Town, New Jersey* (Philadelphia and New York, 1857), p. 27] Brooke was lost at sea, 1707, on a return voyage to England, with the Rev. Thoroughgood Moore.

²⁰There is no record of MATHEW BUCHANAN in Pascoe.

²¹DANIEL BURCHALL was placed in charge of three of the six parishes of St. Christopher's (or St. Kitts) Island. The Rev. Dr. F. Le Jau, in 1705, characterized him: "one Mr. Burschal a good man." [Pascoe, p. 211.]

²²THOMAS BURNETT was ordained for Virginia August 30, 1700. Received king's bounty September 13, 1700. Minister of Lawne's Creek Parish, Surry County, in 1702. No record of him after that date. [Brydon.]

²³EDWARD BUTLER was ordained for Virginia; received the king's bounty, February 3, 1704/5; signed letter to Commissary Blair in 1705. No further record of him. [Brydon.]

²⁴JOHN CARGILL was ordained for Virginia April 28, 1708, and received the king's bounty the preceding April 21st. Minister of Southwark Parish, Surry County, from 1708 until after 1726, and presumably until his death in 1732. [Brydon.]

²⁵JOHN CARNEGIE (or KERNEGUY) was the son of David Carnegie, of Scotland, gent. M. A. Glasgow University; Balliol College, Oxford, M. A. 1696. King's bounty for Virginia, October 26, 1700. Minister, St. Mary's Whitechapel Parish, Lancaster County, Virginia, 1702, and for a few years thereafter. Minister of St. Stephen's Parish, Northumberland County, Virginia, when he died in 1708 or 1709. [Brydon.]

²⁶LEWIS CHADWICK graduated from Brasenose College, Oxford, B. A., 1697.

²⁷GEORGE CLARE graduated from Exeter College, Oxford, B. A., 1702.

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Declaration of Uniformity</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
CLAYTON, Thomas ²⁸	January 19, 1697/8	Maryland
CLUBB, John ²⁹	April 13, 1704	Pennsylvania
COCKSHUTT, Thomas	December 7, 1696	Maryland
COLBATCH (or COLEBATCH), Joseph ³⁰	February 25, 1697/8	Maryland
COLBY (or COLEBY), Samuel ³¹	December 12, 1709	Island of Jamaica
COLLINS, William	October 22, 1700	Island of Jamaica
CORDINER, William ³²	March 7, 1706/7	Maryland
CRAWFORD, Thomas ³³	February 7, 1703/4	Dover (Delaware), Pennsylvania
CUMMING, George	April 21, 1709	Island of Jamaica
CUNINGHAME, John	November 19, 1700	Island of Jamaica
CUNNINGHAM, Charles	February 13, 1707/8	Barbados

D

D'EMILLIANE, *see under*

EMILLIANE.

DUNN (or DUN), William³⁴ January 12, 1705/6 Carolina

E

EBURN, Samuel³⁵ 1703 New England
 EDWARDS, Benjamin November 29, 1698 East India Company
 EDWARDS, John³⁶ May 10, 1701 Maryland

²⁸THOMAS CLAYTON, B. A. (Cantab.) 1690, M. A. 1694, was the first rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, sent out by Bishop Compton in 1695. Under his auspices the first edifice was erected. On his arrival, he found not more than 50 persons to make up his congregation, yet in two years it "was increased to 700, and a handsome church erected." "He died about two years after his arrival, of a contagious distemper caught in visiting the sick." [Benjamin Dorr, *Historical Account of Christ Church, Philadelphia* (New York and Philadelphia, 1841), p. 280.]

²⁹JOHN CLUBB, a Welshman, was a schoolmaster in Christ Church, Philadelphia, who, on Sundays, acted as a lay reader and preached to the Welsh settled around Philadelphia. After his ordination, presumably in 1704, he became the S. P. G. missionary at Oxford, Pennsylvania, 1709-1711; at Appoquinimy, Delaware, 1712-1713; and at Radnor and Oxford, Pennsylvania, 1714-1715. He died Christmas, 1715. He is described as "very earnest in all Parts of his Ministerial office, and very successful in his Labours and happy in engaging the Love and Esteem of all his People." [Pascoe, 34-35, 851; also, Nelson R. Burr, "The Welsh Episcopalians of Colonial Pennsylvania and Delaware," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, VIII (1939), pp. 107-108.]

³⁰JOSEPH COLBATCH (or COLEBATCH) attended St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, and received his B. A. from Oriel College, 1694. Ordained July 4, 1694, by the bishop of London. Rector, All Hallow's Parish, Arundel County, Maryland, 1698, until his death, January 1734—a rectorship of nearly 36 years. "Mr. Colebatch was a clergyman of a very high character." After Dr. Edmund Gibson became bishop of London (1723), he invited the Maryland clergy to "nominate one of their own body as a man worthy to be his suffragan. The object of their choice was Colebatch, a man of exemplary character; and the bishop wrote, requesting him to come to England that he might consecrate him to that office." When this was learned in Maryland, "a writ of *ne exeat* was actually applied for and granted by the courts of Maryland against Colebatch." Maryland had to wait two generations before it could have a bishop. [See J. S. M. Anderson, *A History of the Church of England in the Colonies* (3 vols., London, 1856) III, 190-191; also, Wm. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York, 1859) V, p. 86.]

³¹SAMUEL COLBY (or COLEBY), of the diocese of Killmore and Ardagh, Ireland, was born in 1669. He was the first missionary to Jamaica aided by the S. P. G. In 1709, sent to Jamaica by the bishop of London, the Society voted him £10 towards his passage. [Pascoe, pp. 229, 887.]

³²WILLIAM CORDINER, an Irish clergyman, born about 1680, was appointed to Shrewsbury, Maryland, in January, 1707, after having served as curate of Billyaghran. His ship was captured by the French. Cordiner, his mother, wife, and two children suffered great privation and ill-treatment. [Pascoe, pp. 31-32, 851, discusses his case at some length "as illustrating some of the dangers which missionaries had to encounter in those days."]

³³THOMAS CRAWFORD was a Scotaman, who served Dover, Delaware, 1704-1709. [See, Pascoe, 34, 851: for the fullest exposition of Crawford's ministry, see Rightmyer, *The Anglican Church in Delaware*, index *passim*.]

³⁴WILLIAM DUNN (or DUN) was born about 1677, and was ordained by the bishop of Down and Connor. At the time of his appointment he was from the diocese of Clogher, Ireland. He served St. Paul's Parish South Carolina, 1706-1707. Resigned. [Pascoe, p. 849.]

³⁵SAMUEL EBURN was the son of Richard Eburn, of St. Antholin's. He was a pensioner at St. John's, College, Cambridge, October 3, 1663. Signed for priest's orders, June 1, 1667. Rector, Stocking-Pelham, 1667. Minister of Bruton Parish, James City County, Virginia, 1688-1695. Chaplain, General Assembly. Resigned parish in 1695 because the vestry was unwilling to engage a minister for more than a year at a time. [Brydon.]

Eburn was the first resident S. P. G. missionary in New England, serving the Isle of Shoals, off the harbor of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. In 1703 £20 was granted Mr. Eburn at Governor Dudley's request towards his support. He ministered there three and one-half years, "in which time it cost him £150 more than he ever received from the inhabitants." [Pascoe, pp. 42, 853.]

³⁶JOHN EDWARDS, who went to Maryland, may have graduated from Jesus College, Oxford, B. A. 1696, but several of that name were at Oxford during those years.

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Declaration of Uniformity</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
EDWARDS, Thomas ³⁷	October 2, 1702	Virginia
D'EMILLIANE, Gabriel	April 11, 1701	Maryland
EVANS, Evan ³⁸	July 6, 1700	Philadelphia, Penn.
EVANS, Jonathan ³⁹	May 27, 1707	Virginia

F

FABER, Tanaquillus ⁴⁰	June 19, 1709	Virginia
FRASER (or FRASER), John ⁴¹	August 29, 1700	Virginia
FINNEY, William ⁴²	October 29, 1709	Virginia
FLEURY, Peter	April 19, 1698	Barbados
FORBES, Alexander ⁴³	March 6, 1709/10	Virginia
FORBES, Robert ⁴⁴	March 13, 1707/8	Carolina
FORRESTER, George	December 28, 1697	Island of Jamaica
FOUNTAIN (or FONTAINE), Peter ⁴⁵	February 19, 1715	Virginia
A. B. Deacon		
FULLWOODE, Samuel	June 7, 1701	Barbados

G

GARBRAND, Thomas ⁴⁶	December 27, 1704	Island of Jamaica
GIGNILLAT (or GIGUILLET), James ⁴⁷	November 12, 1709	S. Carolina
GLASGOW, John	March 13, 1707/8	Leeward Islands
GLEN, William	February 21, 1707/8	Maryland
GOODWIN, Benjamin ⁴⁸	March 5, 1708/9	Virginia

³⁷THOMAS EDWARDS was ordained in 1702, and received the king's bounty for Virginia November 30, 1702. He was minister of Hampton Parish in York County in 1704, and probably was both before and after that date. Minister of St. Anne's Parish, Essex County, 1712-1716. Died in 1716. [Brydon.]

³⁸EVAN EVANS (1671-1721) was a Welshman, son of Evan David Evans. He was born in Carnoe, Montgomery County, Wales. Brasenose College, Oxford, B. A. 1695; M. A., B. D., D. D., 1714. Curate of Wrexham, N. Wales. Received the king's bounty, July 5, 1700. [Money Book 15/143.] Appointed second rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, 1700, by the bishop of London, until 1718. Also, S. P. G. missionary, Oxford and Radnor, Pennsylvania, 1716-1718. Rector of St. George's Parish, Harford County, Maryland, 1718-1721. Evans was one of the chief founders of the Anglican Church in Pennsylvania. His persuasive preaching in Welsh kept many communities from turning non-conformist. [See *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, p. 108, for biographical sketch and bibliography.]

³⁹JONATHAN EVANS matriculated at the age of 19 in Jesus College, Oxford, 1698. Ordained for Virginia, May 27, 1707. Received king's bounty for Virginia, May 21, 1707. No mention of him has been found in Virginia records. One of this name was vicar of Bradfield, Essex, England, 1720. [Brydon.]

⁴⁰TANAQUILLUS FABER was ordained for Virginia June 19, 1709, and received the king's bounty July 20, 1709. Guilty of misconduct in England, and appears not to have been permitted to come to Virginia. [Brydon.]

⁴¹JOHN FRASER was ordained August 29, 1700, and received the king's bounty for Virginia September 18, 1700. Minister of Overwharton Parish, Stafford County, and also of St. Paul's Parish, Stafford County, in 1702. He disappears from Virginia lists in 1704, and appears in Maryland in 1712. [Brydon.]

⁴²WILLIAM FINNEY was an M. A. of Glasgow University. Minister of Henrico Parish, Henrico County Virginia, from 1711 until his death, 1727. [Brydon.]

⁴³ALEXANDER FORBES was ordained for Virginia March 6, 1709/10, and received the king's bounty for Virginia February 25, 1709/10. Minister of Upper Parish, Isle of Wight County, Virginia, from 1710 to 1722, when he resigned on account of the hardships of his work. Unable to secure another parish because of difficulty of speech, which prevented people from hearing him. In 1723 he presented strong recommendations to the House of Burgesses concerning changes in the laws. [Brydon.]

⁴⁴No record of ROBERT FORBES in Pascoe.

⁴⁵PETER FOUNTAINE (or FONTAINE) was a Huguenot, born in 1691, and ordained priest February 26, 1715. Received the king's bounty for Virginia March 30, 1716. Minister in Wallingford and Weyanoke Parishes on the James River until 1720. Minister of Westover Parish, Charles City County, 1720-1737. [Brydon.]

⁴⁶THOMAS GARBRAND was a graduate of Pembroke College, Oxford, B. A. 1704.

⁴⁷JAMES GIGNILLAT (or GIGUILLET) was a Frenchman, probably a Huguenot, and S. P. G. missionary at Sante, South Carolina, 1710. Resigned. [See Pascoe, p. 849, and especially, F. J. Klingberg, *Carolina Chronicle: The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1707-1718* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1946), pp. 55, 57, 60, 84, 99, 101, 110.]

⁴⁸BENJAMIN GOODWIN was ordained for Virginia March 5, 1708/09. Minister of Wilmington Parish, James City County, from 1709 until 1715. Sought and obtained the rectorship of (the adjoining) St. Peter's Parish, Kent County, in 1710, but the governor and council forced him to give it up, on the ground that a minister must not be permitted to hold a plurality of parishes in Virginia. Chaplain of the General Assembly, 1712, 1714, and 1715. Presumably, he died in 1715. [Brydon.]

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Declaration of Uniformity</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
GORDON, Patrick ⁴⁹	March 30, 1702	New York
GORDON, William ⁵⁰	December 30, 1700	Barbados
GORDON, William ⁵¹	September 27, 1707	North Carolina
GRACE, Isaac ⁵²	July 31, 1703	Virginia
GREENE, Edward ⁵³	February 27, 1699/1700	Island of Jamaica
GRIFFITHS, Samuel ⁵⁴	February 26, 1715	St. Christopher,
A. B. Priest	(Date of Ordination)	America
GUTHRIE, William ⁵⁵	December 15, 1709	Island of Jamaica
GUY, William ⁵⁶	June 6, 1705	New York

H

HACKETT, William ⁵⁷	January 8, 1699/1700	Gambiago, Africa
HAEGER, John Frederick ⁵⁸	December 20, 1709	Palatine, New York
HALL, Henry	January 10, 1697/98	Maryland
HARRIS, Henry ⁵⁹	May 14, 1708	New England

⁴⁹PATRICK GORDON, the second S. P. G. missionary and the first to the province of New York, was appointed March 20, 1702. He accompanied George Keith, the first S. P. G. missionary (appointed February 27, 1702), and both sailed from England April 28, 1702, arriving in Boston June 11, 1702. Gordon's appointment was to Jamaica, Long Island, New York, but he died of fever, July, 1702. [Pascoe, pp. 10, 41, 57, 60, 855.]

⁵⁰WILLIAM GORDON preached the funeral sermon of General Christopher Codrington, who died in Barbados on Good Friday, April 7, 1710. The General left an endowment for the conversion of Negroes and Indians, and for the founding of a college in the Barbados, which still exists. [Pascoe, pp. 197ff., 782-783.]

⁵¹WILLIAM GORDON was one of the first two S. P. G. missionaries to North Carolina. He arrived in 1708 and served the Chowan and Pamlico districts. Returned to England after a year, being unable to endure "the distractions among the people and other intolerable inconveniences in that colony." [Pascoe, pp. 21, 816a, 850.]

⁵²ISAAC GRACE was ordained for Virginia July, 1703, and received the king's bounty August 5, 1703. He officiated one year in Elizabeth City Parish, Elizabeth City County, Virginia, about 1704, while the incumbent, Rev. James Wallace, was in England. Grace then returned to England, and matriculated in 1706, at the age of 24, in Brasenose College, Oxford. In 1716 he was rector of Saxmundham, Suffolk, England. [Brydon.]

⁵³EDWARD GREENE: B. A. 1684, Jesus College, Oxford.

⁵⁴SAMUEL GRIFFITHS: B. A. 1715, from Jesus College, Oxford; M. A. 1721. Vicar of Llanaron Co., Brecon, Wales, 1720.

⁵⁵WILLIAM GUTHRIE was ordained deacon and priest in 1709 by the bishop of London. To Jamaica, 1710. He and Samuel Colby were the first two missionaries to Jamaica aided by the S. P. G. [See Pascoe, pp. 229, 888.]

⁵⁶WILLIAM GUY, M. A. (d. December 9, 1749), was ordained deacon 1712 (?) and priest 1713, by the bishop of London (according to Pascoe, p. 849), but Pascoe is not certain of the date of his ordination to the diaconate, and puts a question mark after it. Guy may have been ordered deacon about June 6, 1705, as his signing of the declaration of uniformity would indicate. He was a schoolmaster, and for some unknown reason never served in New York, to which this record assigns him.

On January 25, 1712, Guy, in deacon's orders, was admitted into the service of the S. P. G. as curate and schoolmaster of Charleston. He had served as an usher in the London workhouse. When he reached Charleston, the post of schoolmaster had been filled, and he worked with Commissary Gideon Johnston in Charleston from 1712 to 1713, returned to England, and was ordained priest in 1713 by the bishop of Norwich.

Having been elected minister of the Parish of St. Helena, Port Royal Island, South Carolina, he began the longest term of service of any missionary sent to that colony (1712-1749), with one slight interruption. His rectorship of St. Helena was terminated by an Indian uprising in 1715. Charleston, 1716-1717; Narragansett, Rhode Island, 1717-1718; St. Andrew's (13 miles from Charleston), 1719-1749. Pascoe's date of his death (1751) is wrong.

In April, 1731, at the urgent request of Governor Rogers of the Bahamas, Guy spent two months ministering among those islanders. He was the first S. P. G. missionary to do so.

[See Pascoe, pp. 17, 216, 849, 853, 886; Klingberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 106n, 135, 136, 136n, 155, 156, 156n, 158, 160, 168, 169; also, F. J. Klingberg, *An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina* (Washington, 1941), pp. 61-66, and index *passim*; Sprague, *op. cit.*, p. 44n.]

⁵⁷WILLIAM HACKETT matriculated at Christ Church College, Oxford, in 1680, age 17. Died 1708.

⁵⁸JOHN FREDERICK HAEGER was minister to the Palatine refugees in London—Lutherans and Calvinists, whom he accompanied to New York, after having first been ordained by the bishop of London in 1709. Served as S. P. G. missionary in New York from 1710 to 1717. [See Pascoe, pp. 61, 855.]

According to Virginia records, Haeger came to Virginia in 1714 with a group of German immigrants from Siegen, who had been settled by Governor Spotswood at Germanna on the Rappahannock River. They moved across the Rappahannock to Fauquier County in 1717, and formed a settlement called Germantown. They were German Reformed, and Mr. Haeger (or "Hager") remained their minister until his death in 1733 or thereabouts. His name on the Virginia records is usually given as Henry Haeger although in one place he is called John. Appeal was made to the S. P. G., and a grant of 25 German Prayer Books was made to them. [Brydon.]

⁵⁹HENRY HARRIS graduated Jesus College, Oxford, B. A., 1707. Fellow of Jesus College, 1707-1729. Lecturer, King's Chapel, Boston, Massachusetts, 1709 until his death, October 6, 1729. [See E. L. Pennington, *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XI (1942), 154-178; XIV (1945), 198, 198n.]

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Declaration of Uniformity</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
HASELL (or HASSEL), Thomas, M. A. ⁶⁰	1705	South Carolina
HESKITH, Thomas	November 4, 1698	Leeward Islands
HINDMAN, James	February 21, 1707/08	Maryland
HOLLAND, Thomas ⁶¹	March 23, 1702/03	Bermudas
HONYMAN, James ⁶²	March 23, 1702/03	Long Island, New York
HONYMAN, James ⁶³	July 8, 1708	Newport, Rhode Island
HOWELL, Thomas	April 14, 1705	Island of Jamaica
HOWELLS, Thomas ⁶⁴	January 10, 1697/98	Maryland
HOWLETT, John	April 10, 1706	Leeward Islands
HUDSON, Edward ⁶⁵	June 19, 1709	Virginia
HUGHES, Thomas ⁶⁶ A. B., Priest	December 18, 1715	America
HUMPHREYS, John ⁶⁷	March 20, 1697/98	Cape Coast, Guinea
HUMPHREYS, John ⁶⁸	December 1, 1698	St. Helena
J		
JACKSON, John ⁶⁹	March 28, 1700/01	Newfoundland (St. John's Town)
JAMESSONE (or JAMESON), John ⁷⁰	February 7, 1709/10	Virginia
JENKINS, Thomas ⁷¹	April 2, 1707	Appoquinimink (Delaware), Penn.
JENNINGS, Henry	March 28, 1704/05	Maryland
JENNINGS, William	March 6, 1703/04	Leeward Islands
JOHNSTON, Andrew (Schoolmaster)	July 4, 1706	West Indies
JOHNSTONE (or JOHNSTON), Gideon ⁷²	November 26, 1707	(South) Carolina

⁶⁰THOMAS HASELL (or HASSELL), M. A., was ordered deacon by the bishop of London, 1705, and priest 1709. Received the king's bounty, February 13, 1705/06. He went to South Carolina in deacon's orders; served in Charleston, 1705-1708; returned to England for priest's orders; and spent the rest of his life as rector of St. Thomas' Parish, South Carolina, 1709-1743. He died October 9, 1743 or 1744. [Pascoe, p. 849.]

⁶¹THOMAS HOLLAND matriculated in Jesus College, Oxford, in 1697, at age 18.

⁶²JAMES HONYMAN (died July 2, 1750) was born in Scotland. He served Jamaica, Long Island, New York, 1703-1704. First resident S. P. G. missionary in Rhode Island, serving Newport, 1705-1750. [See Pascoe, pp. 42, 47, 853, 855; Sprague, V, 45n.]

⁶³JAMES HONYMAN, *ibid.*

⁶⁴THOMAS HOWELLS was rector of Great Choptunk Parish, Maryland, 1697-1724?

⁶⁵EDWARD HUDSON received the king's bounty for Virginia June 25, 1709, and, according to Virginia records, he was ordained for Virginia July 19, 1709. No record of him found in Virginia. [Brydon.]

ANDREW AGNEW, ANDREW BOYD, EDWARD HUDSON and ROBERT MCNOE were ordained about the same time, and no record of any of them has been found in Virginia. Dr. Brydon raises the query: Was the ship which carried these four clergymen lost at sea, or captured by enemies? A most unusual occurrence that four men ordained for Virginia about the same time should have disappeared so entirely.

⁶⁶THOMAS HUGHES, B. A. 1713, Christ Church College, Oxford, received the king's bounty for Virginia January 3, 1715/16. Minister of Upper Parish, Nansemond County, Virginia, 1716-1719. Minister of Abington Parish, Gloucester County, 1719-1744, and probably later. [Brydon.] Ministered for a year at Christ Church, Philadelphia, when Dr. Evans left for Maryland, 1718-1719.

⁶⁷JOHN HUMPHREYS matriculated in Christ Church, Oxford, 1687, aged 19.

⁶⁸See above, footnote No. 67.

⁶⁹JOHN JACKSON was the first S. P. G. missionary to Newfoundland. He served St. John's, 1703-1705, and was recalled by the bishop of London for lack of subsistence. The queen gave him a living in England. [Pascoe, 88-89, 858.]

⁷⁰JOHN JAMESON received the king's bounty, February 10, 1709/10. Ordained for Virginia, February 7, 1709/10. No record of him in Virginia. [Brydon.]

⁷¹THOMAS JENKINS was the first S. P. G. missionary from the diocese of St. David's, Wales. Native of Llanyfyllog, Carmarthen. Received the king's bounty, January 27, 1706/07, for New Jersey. Appoquinimink, Delaware, 1707-1709. Died July 30, 1709, and was buried at Christ Church, Philadelphia. [See Pascoe, 852; Klingberg, *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. XIV (1945), 66-73; Rightmyer, *op. cit.*, index *passim*.]

⁷²GIDEON JOHNSTONE (or JOHNSTON), ex-vicar of Castlemore, Ireland, was S. P. G. missionary in Charleston, South Carolina, and commissary to the bishop of London, 1708-1716. Drowned, April 23, 1716. [F. J. Klingberg's *Carolina Chronicle* is entirely devoted to Johnston, and includes his major letters in full; see also, Pascoe, 16-17, 849.]

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Declaration of Uniformity</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
JOHNSTONE, William ⁷³	March 6, 1703/04	Island of Jamaica
JONES, Emanuel (Sr.) ⁷⁴	May 28, 1700	Virginia
JONES, Evan ⁷⁵	November 1, 1702	Antigua
JONES, Hugh ⁷⁶	February 23, 1700/01	Maryland
JONES, Hugh ⁷⁷ A. M., Priest	September 23, 1716	Virginia
JONES, James	March 20, 1707/08	Island of Jamaica
JONES, Owen ⁷⁸	August 17, 1703	Virginia
JONES, Robert ⁷⁹	November 30, 1708	Fort St. George, East Indies
JONES, Sylvanus	January 14, 1696/97	Barbados
JONES, Adam	October 22, 1700	Barbados
K		
KEITH, George ⁸⁰	1702	Itinerant Missionary, North America
KEITH, Robert ^{80a}	April 26, 1701	Maryland
KIPPAX, Peter ⁸¹	November 1, 1699	Virginia
KNOX, John ⁸² A. M., Deacon	December 11, 1715	St. Christopher, America
L		
LONDON, John ⁸³	November 9, 1700	East India
LANE, Basil ⁸⁴	March 30, 1697/98	Lisbon, Portugal
LA PIERRE, John ⁸⁵	February 23, 1707/08	Carolina

⁷³WILLIAM JOHNSTONE served St. Andrew's, Jamaica. [Pascoe, 229n.]

⁷⁴EMANUEL JONES, Sr., son of John Jones of Anglessea, graduated from Oriel College, Oxford, B. A., 1691/92, and was ordained for Virginia, May 28, 1700. Minister of Petworth Parish, Gloucester County, 1700-1739. Died 1739. Visitor of William and Mary College, but no record of his having been a professor there. His son, Emanuel Jr., was master of the Indian School at William and Mary College, which may have caused a confusion in assigning the father to a post there. [Brydon.]

⁷⁵EVAN JONES: Jesus College, Oxford (?), B. A. 1700.

⁷⁶HUGH JONES, of Christ Church Parish, Calvert County, Maryland, is not to be confused with his later namesake of Virginia. This clergyman was graduated from Ali Souls College, Oxford, B. A. 1689. He succeeded in the Maryland parish Hugh Jones (1671-1702), who was rector of it from 1695 till his death in 1702, at the age of 31 years. See below, Part III, Section III, for Hugh Jones (I).

⁷⁷HUGH JONES, who is usually associated with Virginia, was the son of Richard Jones, of Little Dewchurch, County Hereford, England. Jesus College, Oxford: B. A. 1712; M. A. 1716. He received the king's bounty twice: September 3, 1716, and September 18, 1724. Professor of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics, William and Mary College, 1717-1722. Went to England in 1722, and published there two important books: *An Accidence to the English Tongue*, the first colonial English grammar; and *The Present State of Virginia*; both published in London in 1724. Returning to Virginia in 1724, he resumed parochial work as minister of St. Stephen's Parish, King and Queen County, until 1726, when he removed to Maryland. Minister, William and Mary Parish, Charles County, 1726-1731; rector of St. Stephen's (North Sassafras) Parish, Cecil County, 1731 until a few months before his death, September 8, 1760. [Brydon; also, *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 175; Grace W. Landrum, "Which Hugh Jones?" *William and Mary College Quarterly*, October, 1943, pp. 474-492.]

⁷⁸OWEN JONES received the king's bounty for Virginia, September 20, 1703. He was ordained in August, 1703. Minister of St. Mary's Parish, Essex (later Caroline) County from 1704 until after 1726, probably until his death. [Brydon.]

⁷⁹ROBERT JONES: Oriel College, Oxford, B. A. 1707.

⁸⁰GEORGE KEITH (1638-1716), the ex-Presbyterian and ex-Quaker who received Anglican orders in 1700, was the first S. P. G. missionary who mapped out the task of the Society immediately after its organization, spending two years, 1702-1704, in the American colonies. [See Pascoe, 9-12, 849; Ethyn W. Kirby, *George Keith, 1638-1716* (New York and London, 1942), pp. 177.]

^{80a}ROBERT KEITH received the king's bounty for Maryland, April 25, 1701. [Money Book, 15/259.]

⁸¹PETER KIPPAX, the son of John Kippax of Lancaster, England, graduated from Brasenose College, B. A. 1693, aet. 22. Received the king's bounty for Virginia, June 27, 1699, and was ordained November 1, 1699. Minister of Upper Parish, Nansemond County, Virginia, 1700; North Farnham Parish, Richmond County, 1702 to 1714 and after. [Brydon.]

⁸²JOHN KNOX was ordained priest, December 15, 1715.

⁸³JOHN LONDON: Brasenose College, Oxford, B. A. 1697; D. C. L. 1709.

⁸⁴BASIL LANE: Merton College, Oxford, B. A. 1689; M. A. 1693.

⁸⁵JOHN LA PIERRE was a French Huguenot minister, ordained by the bishop of London, 1707/08. Minister of the Orange Quarter, South Carolina. He was not an S. P. G. missionary, but when, in 1715, he was in charge of St. Dennis (a congregation of French refugees who had conformed to the Church of England), the S. P. G. assisted him because of the ravages of the Indian war of that year; and again in 1720, he being then in "miserable circumstances." In 1728 La Pierre moved into the Cape Fear region of North Carolina, and three years later to New Bern, and served there until his death about 1755. [Pascoe, 13; Klingberg, *Carolina Chronicle*, index *passim*; E. L. Pennington, *The Church of England in Colonial North Carolina*, pp. 29-30, 31-32.]

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Declaration of Uniformity</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
LATANE, Lewis ⁸⁶	December 2, 1700	Virginia
LEJAU, Francis ⁸⁷	1700	West Indies
LEWIS, Roger ⁸⁸	April 20, 1709	Virginia
LION, Stephen ⁸⁹	December 7, 1696	Barbados
LLOYD, Edward ⁹⁰	June 28, 1701	Island of Jamaica
LLOYD, Thomas	May 11, 1705	Bermudas (See Pascoe, 102)
LOCKIER, Jehu ⁹¹	November 11, 1701	Rhode Island
LOVE, Charles ⁹²	December 11, 1715	Barbados
A. M., Deacon		

M

MACKENZIE, Aeneas ⁹³	April 17, 1705	New York
MAITLAND, John ⁹⁴	March 19, 1707/08	(South) Carolina
MARSDEN, Richard ⁹⁵	October 22, 1700	Maryland
MARSHALL, Samuel	January 11, 1697/98	Carolina
MARSTON, Edward ⁹⁶	October 13, 1699	(South) Carolina
MARTIN, James ⁹⁷	May 9, 1700	Lisbon
MATHEWS, Maurice ⁹⁸	September 3, 1698	Guinea, Africa
MAULE, Robert ⁹⁹	April 28, 1707	South Carolina
MAY, John ¹⁰⁰	January 4, 1709/10	Virginia
McNOE, Robert ¹⁰¹	June 19, 1709	Virginia
McQUEEN (or MacQUEEN), George ¹⁰²	1703	Maryland

⁸⁶LEWIS LATANE (c. 1672-1732), of a French Huguenot family, matriculated in Queen's College, Oxford, in 1691, at the age of 19. He was ordained for Virginia, December 2, 1700, and served as minister of South Farnham Parish, Essex County, from 1701 till his death in 1732. [Brydon.]

⁸⁷FRANCIS LEJAU, French Huguenot, received Anglican orders, was a canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, and was honored with the degree of D. D. by his alma mater, Trinity College, Dublin. Missionary to St. Christopher, West Indies, 1700-1701. Received the king's bounty for Carolina, November 27, 1705. S. P. G. missionary, Goose Creek, South Carolina, 1706-1717, and notably active in work with the Negroes and Indians. [See Pascoe, 15, 16, 211, 849; Klingberg, *An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina* (Washington, 1941), pp. 10-16; E. L. Pennington, "The Reverend Francis LeJau's Work Among Indians and Negro Slaves," in *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. I (1935), No. 4, pp. 442-458.]

⁸⁸ROGER LEWIS, son of Roger Lewis of County Pembroke, matriculated in Jesus College, Oxford, in 1701, aged 18. He received the king's bounty for Virginia April 12, 1709, and was ordained for Virginia April 20, 1709. No record of him has been found in Virginia. He was rector of Herbrauston, County Pembroke, Wales, in 1730. [Brydon.]

⁸⁹STEPHEN LION: Oriel College, Oxford, B. A. 1696.

⁹⁰EDWARD LLOYD: Jesus College, Oxford (?), B. A. 1688.

⁹¹JOHN LOCKIER (died 1704) began his ministry in Rhode Island about 1697. John Talbot describes him as "my Honest Brother Lockier of Rhode-Island who is very industrious when well." [Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey*, pp. 99, 101.]

⁹²CHARLES LOVE: Merton College, Oxford, B. A. 1711; M. A. 1715; ordained priest, December 15, 1715. S. P. G. missionary, Barbados; catechist, Codrington College, Barbados, about 1715. [Pascoe, 884.]

⁹³AENEAS MACKENZIE (born c. 1675) was educated at Aberdeen University and Edinburgh. He was chaplain to the earl of "Cromertie," about 1700-1705. Ordained by the bishop of London. Served Staten Island, New York, 1705-1722. [Pascoe, 58-59, 856.]

⁹⁴JOHN MAITLAND (died April 19, 1711) was not an S. P. G. missionary, but served in South Carolina from 1708 until his death, 1711. [See Klingberg, *Carolina Chronicle*, index *passim*.]

⁹⁵RICHARD MARSDEN acquired a bad reputation throughout the southern colonies. Apparently he served in Maryland until 1706, moved to South Carolina about that time, and was a thorn in Commissary Johnston's flesh. Fled because of debt. Went to Virginia without the bishop of London's license, and officiated in Lynnhaven Parish, Princess Anne County, 1728-29. Ran away again, over £400 in debt. Came into the Cape Fear region of North Carolina about 1732. Applied for appointment as S. P. G. missionary in North Carolina, but rejected because of misconduct. [Brydon; Pascoe, 850; Klingberg, *Carolina Chronicle*, index *passim*; Pennington, *Church in Colonial North Carolina*, 31-32, 33, 35.]

⁹⁶EDWARD MARSTON was said to be "the only Church of England minister that is established in the said Colony" (South Carolina) until the arrival of the first S. P. G. missionary, the Rev. Samuel Thomas, on December 25, 1702. [See Pascoe, 13, 14; Klingberg, *Carolina Chronicle*, index *passim*.]

⁹⁷JAMES MARTIN: Balliol College, Oxford, matriculated, 1687.

⁹⁸MAURICE MATHEWS: Jesus College, Oxford; B. A. 1692; M. A. 1695.

⁹⁹ROBERT MAULE (c. 1680-d. 1717) was an Irishman, recommended by the archbishop of Dublin. He served St. John's Parish, South Carolina, 1707-1717. Died of dysentery. Bequeathed £750 to the S. P. G. [See Pascoe, 18, 850; Klingberg, *An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina*, 19, 28-30, 142, 144.]

¹⁰⁰JOHN MAY was ordained for Virginia, January 4, 1709/10, and received the king's bounty January 9, 1709/10. No record of him is found in Virginia. [Brydon.]

¹⁰¹ROBERT McNOE received the king's bounty, June 1, 1709, and was ordained for Virginia June 19, 1709. No record of him found in Virginia. [Brydon.]

¹⁰²GEORGE McQUEEN (or MacQUEEN) was "forced to fly from his native country by the Presbyterian persecution in Scotland." Received the king's bounty for Maryland, June 23, 1702. Aided by the S. P. G. in 1703. [Pascoe, 851.] [Money Book, 16/68.]

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Declaration of Uniformity</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
MIDDLETON, James	January 19, 1696/97	Barbados
MOORE (or MOOR), Thomas (Thoroughgood) ¹⁰³	February 25, 1703/04	Iregeois, America
MORGAN, Sutton ¹⁰⁴ A. B., Deacon	July 8, 1716	America
MORPISON, John	September 6, 1699	Leeward Islands
MOTT, Edmund ¹⁰⁵	February 27, 1701/02	New York
MUIRSON, George ¹⁰⁶ (A Scotsman)	1705	New York
MYLNE (or MILNE), Francis ¹⁰⁷	November 3, 1707	Virginia
N		
NICOLS (or NICOLLS), Henry ¹⁰⁸	July 27, 1703	Uplands, Penna.
NISBITT, James	November 27, 1700	Gambia, Africa
NOBBES, Benjamin	November 30, 1697.....	Church of Philadelphia
O		
O'BRYEN (or O'BRIEN), Chr. (Christopher) ¹⁰⁹	May 2, 1707	Virginia
OGILVIE, Walter	January 7, 1708/09	Island of Jamaica
OGLE, Henry ¹¹⁰	April 5, 1705	Virginia
OUTLAW, Samuel	May 31, 1705	Leeward Islands
OWEN, Robert ¹¹¹	August 12, 1699	Maryland
P		
PASMERE, Henry	February 26, 1697/98	Island of Jamaica
PAXTON, Alexander ¹¹²	August 2, 1697	New England
PAXTON, Robert ¹¹³	October 21, 1709	Virginia
PHILLIPS, Thomas ¹¹⁴	May 29, 1707	Leeward Islands

¹⁰³THOROUGHGOOD MOORE (or MOOR) served as S. P. G. missionary among the Iroquois, 1704-1705, but the work was disrupted by the sale of rum, which debauched the Indians. Burlington, New Jersey, 1705-1707, while John Talbot was abroad. Scandalized by the conduct of Governor Cornbury and his lieutenant-governor, he refused the sacrament to the latter, was arrested, imprisoned in New York, but made his escape to New England. He was drowned, 1707, on his return voyage to England. [Pascoe, 67-68, 854, 856; Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey*, index *passim*.]

¹⁰⁴SUTTON MORGAN: University College, Oxford, B. A. 1716; M. A., Emmanuel College, Cantab., 1720. A director of British Charity School, St. Margaret's, Westminster. Vicar of Nevern, Pembroke, Wales 1720; rector of Kilgerran, Pembroke, 1730. No record of him in America.

¹⁰⁵EDMUND MOTT was chaplain to the British forces in New York, 1696-1704. He died in New York, 1704.

¹⁰⁶GEORGE MUIRSON was ordained by the bishop of London in 1705, and served with success as S. P. G. missionary in Rye, New York, and, in spite of the hostility of the local magistrates, held the first Anglican services in Stratford, Connecticut. He died in October, 1708. [Pascoe, 43-44, 59, 853, 856.]

¹⁰⁷FRANCIS MYLNE (or MILNE) received the king's bounty for Maryland, October 27, 1707, but was ordained for Virginia, November 3, 1707. He may have gone directly to Virginia. Appears on the list of 1714 as minister of Kingston Parish, Gloucester (now Mathews) County, and may have ministered for six or seven years previously. Last mention of him in 1719. Probably died before 1724. [Brydon.]

¹⁰⁸HENRY NICOLS (April 1, 1678-February 12, 1748): Jesus College, Oxford, B. A. 1701; M. A. 1715; fellow of Jesus College, 1702-1748. First S. P. G. missionary from the diocese of Llandaff (Wales), and the first residential S. P. G. missionary to Pennsylvania: Chester, Pennsylvania, 1703-1708. Resigned as S. P. G. missionary and became rector of St. Michael's Parish, Talbot County, Maryland, for the rest of his life, 1708-1748. [See Pascoe, 34, 840, 852; Mary Clement, "Henry Nichols," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XII (1943), 242-245.]

¹⁰⁹CHRISTOPHER O'BRIEN received the king's bounty for Virginia, April 28, 1707, and was ordained for Virginia, May 2, 1707. Does not appear at all in Virginia records. [Brydon.]

¹¹⁰HENRY OGLE was ordained for Virginia, April 5, 1705, but his name does not appear in any Virginia record. Possibly he went to Maryland, as that is a well known name in Maryland. [Brydon.]

¹¹¹ROBERT OWEN was rector of St. Paul's Parish, Calvert County, Maryland, 1700-1710. John Talbot described him as "a very honest gentleman." [Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey*, pp. 104, 106.]

¹¹²ALEXANDER PAXTON was a schoolmaster, but no record of his service in America has been found.

¹¹³ROBERT PAXTON received the king's bounty for Virginia, October 20, 1709, and was ordained for Virginia, October 21, 1709. Invited to officiate in Bruton Parish in 1710. Appears as a member of Commissary Blair's assisting clergy in his visitation held in Charles Parish, York County, June 13, 1710. Presumably, Paxton died before becoming acclimatized, or returned to England, as there is no further record of him. [Brydon.]

¹¹⁴THOMAS PHILLIPS: All Souls College, Oxford; matriculated 1698, aged 18. Leeward Islands, 1707 until about 1715. On August 9, 1715, he received the king's bounty for Virginia, and was settled by Governor Spotswood in "the parish of Potomack River" in 1716. There is no parish in Virginia by that name, and it is not known what parish was meant by Governor Spotswood. Quite possibly it was Overwharton Parish in Stafford County, which was reported vacant in the list of 1714. If so, he stayed for a year or two, and removed to Newfoundland, where he remained until 1720. Kent Island, Maryland, 1720-1724 (?). In *Character of Clergymen of Maryland*, 1722, he is listed as rector of Christ Church, Kent Island, Maryland. Phillips was tried for his life in Virginia for shooting a man. Reformed. [Brydon.]

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Declaration of Uniformity</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
PITT, Philip ¹¹⁵	December 18, 1698	East India
PLATTS, Christopher	January 10, 1697/98	Maryland
POPE, Henry A. M., Priest	December 11, 1715	Leeward Islands
PORTLOCK, Edward ¹¹⁶	April 3, 1698	New Jersey
POUND, James ¹¹⁷	November 20, 1699	China
POWELL, John	June 8, 1698	Leeward Islands
POXEN, Thomas	May 1, 1699	Island of Jamaica
POYER, Thomas ¹¹⁸	December 23, 1709	Jamaica, Long Island, New York
PRITCHARD, Thomas ¹¹⁹	November 15, 1703	New York

R

RAINSFORD (or RANSFORD), Giles ¹²⁰	June 22, 1702	Maryland
RAWLINS, Thomas ¹²¹	December 2, 1704	Lisbon, Portugal
RAY, James	March 28, 1705	Island of Jamaica
REYNOLDS, James ¹²²	April 26, 1709	Rye, New York
RICE, Jacob ¹²³	June 3, 1705	Newfoundland
ROBERTSON, Robert	February 9, 1706/06	Leeward Islands
ROGERSON, William	February 25, 1700/01	Leeward Islands

¹¹⁵PHILIP PITT: Pembroke College, Oxford, matriculated 1694.

¹¹⁶EDWARD PORTLOCK was ordered deacon May 11, 1691, and apparently came to America soon afterwards, serving in West Jersey. In 1698 he was selected by the Proprietors of East Jersey as first minister of Perth Amboy, and sent back to England for priest's orders. On April 3, 1698, he was ordained priest by the bishop of London, returned to Perth Amboy, and served there for a year or more. When Thomas Clayton, the first rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, died, Portlock supplied his place until the arrival of the Rev. Evan Evans, towards the end of the year 1700. Portlock became minister of Stratton-Major Parish in King and Queen County, Virginia, from about 1701 until 1705, and probably later. He was presented for induction in 1705. Nothing is known of his life after that time, but he was not on the list of the Virginia clergy in 1719. [Brydon: W. Northey Jones, *The History of St. Peter's Church in Perth Amboy* (1924), pp. 17-25.]

¹¹⁷JAMES POUND: Hart Hall, Oxford, B. A. 1694. Chaplain, Fort St. George, India, 1699. F. R. S.

¹¹⁸THOMAS POYER: Brasenose College, Oxford; matriculated 1704, aged 19. The second S. P. G. missionary from the diocese of St. David's, Wales. Ordained deacon by the bishop of Worcester, and priest by the bishop of St. David's, 1706. Curate, Haverford West, and chaplain H. M. S. *Antelope*. He served Jamaica, Long Island, New York, 1710-1731. In 1710 he was wrecked on his passage over, 100 miles from his parish. He "had great and almost continual contentions with the Independents in his parish"; but his parishioners wrote in 1717 that "the Church here has increased very considerably both in its number of hearers and communicants by the singular care, pains and Industry of our present Laborious Minister Mr. Poyer." His life was "one continued scene of trouble." He died December, 1731, or January, 1732. [Pascoe, 60-61, 856.]

¹¹⁹THOMAS PRITCHARD was not an S. P. G. missionary, but was rector of Rye, New York. He died in March or April, 1705. The dissenters resisted his incumbency, and, according to a letter from John Talbot, Andrew Sandel, Francis Phillips, and John Humphreys, to General Nicholson, dated 1714, he was murdered: "The barbarous and execrable usage of the Revd Mr. Pritchard at New York who had his Throat cutt by his and the Churches Enemies & then was brought in by the Verdict of a Jury as Felo de se." [Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey*, pp. 130, 132.]

¹²⁰GILES RAINSFORD (or RANSFORD) was born in Dublin. Trinity College, Dublin; University of Dublin, M. A., 1705. Ordained deacon, by the bishop of Down; priest, by the bishop of London, 1702. No record of his ministry, 1710-1712, has been found; but he was an S. P. G. missionary in Chowan County, North Carolina, 1712-1714. Rainsford was unable to baptize any Negroes, because of the opposition of their masters, until the receipt of Bishop Fleetwood's sermon of 1711 before the Society "turn d'ye scale"; and then he succeeded in baptizing "upwards of forty negroes" in one year. In 1713, as he was going to preach, he was captured by the "salvages," (sic) but escaped and took refuge in Virginia for two months. He was minister of Lower Parish, Nansemond County, Virginia, 1714-1716, and then returned to England. On September 3, 1716, he received the king's bounty for Maryland, but came to Virginia instead as minister of St. Anne's Parish, Essex County. Becoming involved with Governor Spotswood, Commissary Blair, and the Rev. John Bagge, concerning the question of induction into the parish, he was forced out by the governor, and went to Maryland, where he was living in 1724. [Brydon; Pascoe, 22, 850.]

¹²¹THOMAS RAWLINS: Jesus College, Oxford, B. C. L. 1704. Chaplain to English merchants at Smyrna.

¹²²JAMES REYNOLDS: Trinity College, Oxford; matriculated, 1691, aged 17. Not mentioned in Pascoe.

¹²³JACOB RICE: Jesus College, Oxford. B. A. 1704, from Magdalen Hall, as "James" Rice. Appointed by the bishop of London as second missionary to Newfoundland, in succession to the Rev. John Jackson (see above). Rice was not an S. P. G. missionary because he "neglected to comply with certain conditions necessary to secure his appointment on its list of Missionaries." [Pascoe, 89, 89n.]

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Declaration of Uniformity</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
ROSS, George ¹²⁴	April 17, 1705	Newcastle, Pennsylvania
RUDD, William ¹²⁵	August 12, 1699	Virginia

S

SAUNDERS, John ¹²⁶	October 21, 1699	Virginia
SCOT, Robert	March 19, 1707/08	Maryland
SCOTT, John ¹²⁷	January 15, 1715	Jamaica
SEWELL, Richard	December 7, 1696	Maryland
SHANKS, Edward ¹²⁸	February 4, 1706/07	Island of Jamaica
SHARPE, John ¹²⁹	April 26, 1701	Maryland
SHARPE, Thomas ¹³⁰	October 2, 1699	Virginia
SHEPHEARD, Richard ¹³¹	February 19, 1706/07	Virginia
SHEPPARD, Thomas ¹³²	July 8, 1716	America
A. B., Deacon		
SINCLAR (or SINCLAIRE), Robert ¹³³	August (?), 1709	Pennsylvania
SKAIFE, John ¹³⁴	September 9, 1708	Virginia
SMITH, Andrew	May 29, 1705	Island of Jamaica
SMITH, Guy ¹³⁵	December 28, 1697	Virginia
SMITH, James ¹³⁶	January 25, 1702/03	Virginia
SPENCE, James	January 15, 1708/09	Island of Jamaica
SQUIRE, Richard ¹³⁷	October 2, 1702	Virginia
STUART, Alexander	February 7, 1703/04	Bedford, New York
STUART, Robert	May 18, 1698	Island of Jamaica

T

TABOR, Richard	December 28, 1697	Island of Jamaica
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¹²⁴GEORGE ROSS (1679-1754): born in Balblair, Rosshire, Scotland, the second son of David Ross. Edinburgh University, M. A. 1700. S. P. G. missionary, New Castle, Delaware, 1705-1708; Chester, Pennsylvania, 1708-1712 (prisoner in France, 1711); New Castle, Delaware, 1713-1754. [Pascoe, 35, 38, 852; Pennington, "The Reverend George Ross," in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, October, 1936, pp. 34ff; Rightmyer, *index passim*.]

¹²⁵WILLIAM RUDD was ordained August 12, 1699, and received the king's bounty for Virginia, August 31, 1699. Minister of Elizabeth River Parish, Norfolk County, 1702; minister of Chuckatuck Parish, Nansemond County, in 1703, and for some years thereafter. One thus named received the king's bounty for Jamaica on April 6, 1706. [Brydon.]

¹²⁶JOHN SAUNDERS was ordained for Virginia, October 24, 1699. No record of him has been found in Virginia. [Brydon.]

¹²⁷JOHN SCOTT was ordained priest, February 26, 1715.

¹²⁸EDWARD SHANKS was granted £15 for books by the S. P. G. on April 19, 1707. [Pascoe, 229n.]

¹²⁹JOHN SHARPE, M. A., was associated with John Talbot as an S. P. G. missionary in New Jersey in 1704. In the same year Lord Cornbury offered him the chaplaincy of "her Maties Fort and Forces," at New York. He returned to London in 1717. [HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XVI (1947), 93; Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey*, *index passim*.]

¹³⁰THOMAS SHARPE received the king's bounty for Virginia, August 31, 1699, and was ordained for Virginia, October 2, 1699. In Virginia, circa 1700-1720: minister, Warwiskeake Parish, Isle of Wight County, 1702; minister, St. Paul's Parish, Hanover County, 1708-1720. [Brydon.]

¹³¹RICHARD SHEPHEARD was ordained for Virginia February 19, 1706/07, and received the king's bounty for Virginia, February 28, 1706/07. No record of him appears in Virginia. He may have died on the journey, or shortly after arrival, or he may have gone to another colony. [Brydon.]

¹³²THOMAS SHEPPARD: Oriel College, Oxford, B. A., 1716. Not an S. P. G. missionary, and not mentioned in Pascoe.

¹³³ROBERT SINCLAR (or SINCLAIRE) was born about 1685. Tutor to Lord Crichton. Received the king's bounty for Pennsylvania, August 31, 1709. S. P. G. missionary, New Castle, Delaware, 1710-1712. Resigned. [Pascoe, 852; Rightmyer, *index passim*.]

¹³⁴JOHN SKAIFE "was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge" (so stated in his obituary in the *Virginia Gazette*). He was ordained for Virginia, September 9, 1708, and received the king's bounty for Virginia, September 13, 1708. Minister, Stratton-Major Parish, King and Queen County, from 1710 until his death, November 6, 1736. His wife died three days before, November 3, 1736. [Brydon.]

¹³⁵GUY SMITH was minister of Abingdon Parish, Gloucester County, Virginia, 1702-1719, and perhaps before and after, until his death about 1721. [Brydon.]

¹³⁶JAMES SMITH received the king's bounty for Virginia, January 12, 1702/03, and was ordained in 1703. Minister of St. Anne's Parish, Essex County, in 1704, and for a few years thereafter. No further record. [Brydon.]

¹³⁷RICHARD SQUIRE: matriculated at Oxford, 1679, aged 18. Received king's bounty for Virginia, November 20, 1702. Minister, St. Peter's Parish, New Kent County, 1703 until his death in 1707 [Brydon.]

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Declaration of Uniformity</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
TALBOT, John ¹³⁸	1705	New Jersey
TENNANT (or TENENT), James ¹³⁹	May 25, 1708	Virginia
TIBBS, William ¹⁴⁰	May 10, 1701	Maryland
TILLYARD, Arthur ¹⁴¹	June 23, 1702	Maryland
THOMAS, John ¹⁴²	1704	Long Island, New York
THOMAS, Samuel ¹⁴³	July 2, 1702	Carolina
THOMPSON, James	January 25, 1707/08	Island of Jamaica
TODD, Thomas	April 30, 1697	Bahamas
TONKE, Thomas	December 12, 1709	Island of Jamaica
TOOKERMAN, Josiah	November 3, 1705	Antigua
TOPP, Edward	January 15, 1697/98	Maryland
TREVOR, William	December 18, 1715	America
TROTTER, George	December 31, 1697	Maryland

U

URMSTON, John ¹⁴⁴	February 17, 1709/10	North Carolina
URQUHART, William ¹⁴⁵	February 12, 1703/04	Jamaica, Long Island, New York

V

VANDELURE, Michael	December 2, 1704	Leeward Islands
VAUGHAN, Edward ¹⁴⁶	May 3, 1709	East Jersey
VESEY, William ¹⁴⁷	August 2, 1697	New York City

¹³⁸JOHN TALBOT was George Keith's companion on the latter's famous missionary tour of the American colonies, 1702-1704, and "the Apostle of the Church in New Jersey." S. P. G. missionary, 1705-1724, with headquarters at Burlington, New Jersey. [See E. L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey, John Talbot, 1645-1727* (Philadelphia, 1938), pp. 217, which includes all of Talbot's extant letters in full.]

¹³⁹JAMES TENNANT (or TENENT) was ordained for Virginia May 25, 1708, and received the king's bounty for Virginia, May 28, 1708. Minister of Lynnhaven Parish, Princess Anne County, from before 1714 until 1726. Presumably, he died in 1726. [Brydon.]

¹⁴⁰WILLIAM TIBBS: Merton College, Oxford, B. A. 1698. Rector of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, Maryland, 1702-1732. "For 30 years Mr. Tibbs traveled hundreds of miles each month serving his office, and at his death in 1732 was lovingly spoken of as 'their old shepherd.'" [See A. B. Kinsolving, "St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, Maryland, 1692-1942," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XI (1942), 388.]

¹⁴¹ARTHUR TILLYARD, son of Arthur Tillyard of Oxford city, pleb. All Souls College, Oxford, B. A., 1693; St. Alban's Hall, M. A., 1697. He was ordained for Virginia, June 23, 1702, and received the king's bounty for Virginia, June 15, 1702. Minister of Martin's Hundred Parish in James City County, and York Parish in York County, in 1704, and probably until his death in 1712. Received a special grant from the S. P. G., but was not a missionary of the Society. [Brydon.]

¹⁴²JOHN THOMAS: probably of Jesus College, Oxford; matriculated 1696, aged 18. Received the king's bounty, July 5, 1700 [Money Book, 15/143], the same day as Evan Evans did. As a deacon, he was a schoolmaster and assistant to Evan Evans, Christ Church, Philadelphia, 1701-1704. Ordained priest, 1704. "George Thomas—Cl[erk]" received the king's bounty for New York on April 1, 1704 [Money Book, 17/106]. Probably a clerical error for "John." S. P. G. missionary, Hempstead, Long Island, New York, 1704-1724. Died about that time. He was probably the first S. P. G. missionary from the diocese of St. Asaph, Wales. [Pascoe, 58, 856.]

¹⁴³SAMUEL THOMAS was the first S. P. G. missionary to South Carolina, although not the first Anglican priest there. He came from Ballydon, Sudbury. Served Cooper River, Goose Creek, etc., South Carolina, 1702-1706. Died, October, 1706, of a fever. [Pascoe, 12-15, 18, 850.]

¹⁴⁴JOHN URMSTON: ex-curate of Eastham, Essex, 1706-1709. S. P. G. missionary in North Carolina: North Shore with Pascotank, Chowan, etc., 1709-1720. Resigned, was employed temporarily at Christ Church, Philadelphia, and then went to Maryland. Fell into disrepute, and was said to have burned to death in North Carolina, 1732. [Pascoe, 22-23, 850; Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey*, index *passim*.]

¹⁴⁵WILLIAM URQUHART was a Scotsman, and S. P. G. missionary in Jamaica, Long Island, New York, 1704-1709. Died c. 1709. [Pascoe, 60, 856.]

¹⁴⁶EDWARD VAUGHAN: son of the rector of Wolves-Newton, Monmouth, Wales. Second S. P. G. missionary from the diocese of Llandaff. Ministered in Elizabeth Town, Perth Amboy, and neighboring communities from 1709-1747. In 1731 he reported: "I have Baptized here and elsewhere within the compass of two years last past 550 children besides 64 adults," making 620 all told. In 1734 he reported baptizing 13 adults (6 of which were Negroes) and 162 children, or a total of 175. He died in the latter part of 1747, after nearly forty years' service, and bequeathed his glebe of nine acres and his house to the S. P. G. [Pascoe, 54, 855; Samuel A. Clark, *The History of St. John's Church, Elizabeth Town, New Jersey* (Philadelphia and New York, 1857), pp. 34-56.]

¹⁴⁷WILLIAM VESEY (August 10, 1674-July 11, 1746) was a native American and a graduate of Harvard College, 1693. Ordained priest August 2, 1697. The first of a distinguished line of rectors in a great parish, which the bishop of London, Dr. John William Charles Wand, has called "unique in Christendom." Vesey's ministry in this one parish, ending with his death, was nearly fifty years. [See, E. C. Chorley, *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XVI (1947), 17-20; Morgan Dix, *The Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York*, Vol. I, index *passim*; *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIX, 259.]

<i>Surname followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Declaration of Uniformity</i>	<i>Province or Area Listed to</i>
W		
WAGENER, Peter	August 9, 1703	Maryland
WALBANK, Augustine	March 5, 1698/99	Maryland
WALKER, Alexander ¹⁴⁸	September 29, 1699	Virginia
WALLIS, Samuel ¹⁴⁹	August 8, 1709	Virginia
WALTON, Thomas	May 25, 1699	Barbados or Antigua
WATSON, George	January 6, 1708/09	Bombay, India
WEBB, William	April 12, 1698	Barbados
WEEKES, Richard ¹⁵⁰	May 27, 1707	Island of Jamaica
WHARTON, Gilbert	April 5, 1697	Barbados
WHATELY (or WHEATLEY), Solomon ¹⁵¹	October 11, 1699	Virginia
WHITE, John ¹⁵²	July 29, 1697	New England
WHITE, Jonathan	September 25, 1699	Maryland
WHITFIELD, James	April 10, 1700	Leeward Islands
WILLIAMS, Charles	December 6, 1704	Guinea, Africa
WILLIAMS, James	January 17, 1702/03	Africa
WOOD, Alexander ¹⁵³	May 29, 1707	Carolina
WOODSIDE, Frederick	April 28, 1708	Leeward Islands
WORMELL, Bart.	May 21, 1698	Bermudas
WOTTON, James	August 3, 1703	Maryland
WRIGHT, George	December 10, 1705	Leeward Islands
Y		
YATES, Bartholomew ¹⁵⁴	September 3, 1700	Virginia
YATES, Robert ¹⁵⁵	December 15, 1698	Virginia
YOUNG, George ¹⁵⁶	October 13, 1699	Virginia

¹⁴⁸ALEXANDER WALKER received the king's bounty for Virginia, August 31, 1699, and was ordained in September, 1699. He was in Virginia in 1700; minister of Southwark Parish, Surry County, 1702 [Brydon.]

¹⁴⁹SAMUEL WALLIS was ordained for Virginia, August 8, 1709, and received the king's bounty, September 8, 1709. Minister of Chuckatuck Parish, Nansemond County, in 1714, but no record appears to show the length of his service. May have held that charge for ten years, but does not appear in the records of 1719 or later. [Brydon.]

¹⁵⁰RICHARD WEEKES: Exeter College, Oxford, B. A. 1702.

¹⁵¹SOLOMON WHATELY (or WHEATLEY) was ordained in October, 1699. Came to Virginia by way of Maryland in 1700. Minister of Lynnhaven Parish, Princess Anne County, in 1702; minister of Bruton Parish, Williamsburg, 1702-1710. Died, 1710. [Brydon.]

¹⁵²JOHN WHITE: Queen's College (?), Oxford, B. A. 1696, aged 21. The bishop of London appointed him assistant to the Rev. Samuel Myles, rector of King's Chapel, Boston, but he never reached New England. "He accompanied Lord Bellamont, when he went out to succeed Sir William Phipps in the government, was driven, with that nobleman, by stress of weather, to Barbados, and there died." [James S. M. Anderson, *History of the Church of England in the Colonies*, Vol. II, 457-458.]

¹⁵³ALEXANDER WOOD, M. A., was S. P. G. missionary in St. Andrew's Parish, South Carolina, 1707-1710. Died 1710. [Pascoe, 850.]

¹⁵⁴BARTHOLOMEW YATES: Brasenose College, Oxford, B. A. Brother of Robert Yates, *below*. Ordained for Virginia, September 10, 1700, and received king's bounty for Virginia, September 18, 1700. Minister of Sittenburne Parish and North Side St. Mary's Parish, Richmond County, 1702. Minister of Kingston Parish, Gloucester County, 1702-1703. Succeeded his brother, Robert, as minister of Christ Church Parish, Middlesex County, 1703, until his death in 1734. Inducted. Visitor of William and Mary College, and professor of divinity, in 1729. [Brydon.]

¹⁵⁵ROBERT YATES: son of William Yates of Shropshire. Brasenose College, Oxford, B. A. 1696. Received king's bounty for Virginia, January 3, 1699. Minister, Christ Church Parish, Middlesex County, Virginia, 1699-1703. Returned to England in bad health in 1703, and there became rector of Wickham Bishops, County Essex, in 1706. Brother of Bartholomew Yates, *supra*. [Brydon.]

¹⁵⁶GEORGE YOUNG: ordained October 13, 1699. Minister of Petsworth Parish, Gloucester County, from February 5, 1699/1700, to October, 1700, and was not re-elected. Had just come from England. No further record of him. May have died at that time. [Brydon.]

PART III

SECTION I

A LIST OF FIFTY-SIX CLERGYMEN, NOT INCLUDED IN THE
 "DECLARATION OF UNIFORMITY LIST," WHO RECEIVED
 THE KING'S BOUNTY OF £20 FOR SERVICE
 OVERSEAS, 1690-1709

[From Gerald Fothergill, *A List of Emigrant Ministers to America, 1690-1811*
 (Elliott Stock, Paternoster Row, London, 1904)]

N. B.—The abbreviation, Cl, stands for "clerk" or "clergyman."
 For biographical data, *see below*, Section III.

<i>Surname, followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Warrant for £20 Bounty</i>	<i>Area Licensed to</i>	<i>Source of Information</i>
1690			
GELLIBRAND, —	29 May 1690	New York	Treasury Papers, Vol. 8/38.
<p>The following is a copy of the bishop of London's letter to the lords of the treasury asking for a bounty:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">May 26, 1690.</p> <p>"My Lords, "Mr. Gelibrand going over Chaplain for New York withe Collonel Sclater I would humbly intreat yor lordps. to let Collonel Sclater have ye King's benevolence of Twenty pounds for his voyage. My Lords Yor Lordp. most obedient sert. H. LONDON."</p> <p>[It would be interesting to know who were the clergymen, if any, who received this bounty before Mr. Gellibrand.]</p>			
1691			
PHILIPS, James (Schoolmaster)	8 May 1691	New York	Rawlinson M. S. S. A. 306.
1692			
CANT, —	29 June 1692	Leeward Is.	Money Book 11/347. King's Warrant Book, 9/272.
COX, Charles	14 March 1691/2	Maryland	King's Warrant Book, 9/198. (See Alum. Oxon).
MILLER, John	27 April 1692	New York	King's Warrant Book, 9/222.
MITTON, Roger	27 April 1692	Virginia	King's Warrant Book, 9/222.
1693			
None			
1694			
HUDSON, George Cl.	25 July 1694	Virginia	Money Book 12/273.

<i>Surname, followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Warrant for £20 Bounty</i>	<i>Area Licensed to</i>	<i>Source of Information</i>
1695			
ALLEN, Mr.	10 December 1695	Barbados	Money Book 13/43.
BEECHIN, James	10 December 1695	Maryland	" " 13/43.
CLACK, Mr.	10 December 1695	Maryland	" " 13/43.
COMIN, James (Schoolmaster)	8 May 1695	Leeward Is.	" " 12/509.
DEAN, Henry Cl.	10 July 1695	Barbados	" " 12/572.
FAUX, Mr.	10 October 1695	Virginia	" " 13/43.
GOURDON, John Cl.	27 December 1695	Maryland	" " 13/51.
JONES, Hugh	27 December 1695	Maryland	" " 13/51.
KENDALL, John Cl.	10 December 1695	Bermudas	" " 13/42.
KNIBLE, Mr.	27 December 1695	Maryland	" " 13/51.
LENE, Mr.	27 December 1695	Maryland	" " 13/51.
SLADE, S. Cl.	21 November 1695	Leeward Is.	" " 13/39.
SMITH, Simon	7 Jan. 1694/5	Jamaica	" " 12/418.
YONG, James	10 December 1695	Leeward Is.	" " 13/43.
1696			
ARROWSMITH, —	18 January 1695/6	Maryland	" " 13/63.
MILES, Samuel Cl.	28 February 1695/6	Newfoundland	" " 13/85.
1697			
None			
1698			
BOUCKER, Henry	11 January 1697/8	Maryland	" " 13/424.
COLLEIRE, —	28 July 1698	Maryland	" " 14/171.
JEFFRIES, Thomas	11 January 1697/8	Maryland	" " 13/424.
MARSHALL, Thomas	11 January 1697/8	Maryland	" " 13/424.
PLATT, Francis	11 January 1697/8	Maryland	" " 13/424.
(See "Declaration of Uniformity List" 10 January 1697/8.)			
READING, William	11 January 1697/8	Maryland	" " 13/424.
THURSBY, —	28 July 1698	Maryland	" " 14/171.
WALLS, Benjamin	11 January 1697/8	Maryland	" " 13/424.
1699			
None			
1700			
BRETT, Daniel Cl.	7 June 1700	Carolina	" " 15/120.
HAYS, — Cl. (Schoolmaster)	11 October 1700	Leeward Is.	" " 15/185.
RICHARDSON, —	12 July 1700	Virginia	" " 15/120.
STRAICHAN, Adam (Schoolmaster)	29 November 1700	Leeward Is.	" " 15/185.
TOSH, — (Schoolmaster)	5 January 1699/1700	Jamaica	" " 15/42.
1701			
BRISAC, — Cl.	29 January 1700/1	New York	" " 15/248.
HAMILTON, — Cl. (Schoolmaster)	24 March 1700/1	Leeward Is.	" " 15/259.
1702			
ALSOP, — Cl.	3 February 1701/2	Jamaica	" " 16/17.
BROCHIN, James	16 November 1702	Virginia	" " 16/189.
1703			
GIFFARD, John (Schoolmaster)	27 August 1703	Leeward Islands	Money Book 16/422.

<i>Surname, followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Warrant for £20 Bounty</i>	<i>Area Licensed to</i>	<i>Source of Information</i>
1704			
STOCKHOUSE, Thomas	23 December 1704	South Carolina	Money Book 17/287.
THOMAS, George Cl.	1 April 1704	New York	" " 17/106.
JOHNSON, Thomas (Schoolmaster)	17 March 1703/4	Jamaica	" " 17/96.
1705			
ARBUTHNOT, James	18 October 1705	Leeward Islands	" " 18/50.
CLERK, Andrew (Schoolmaster)	2 May 1705	New York	" " 17/364.
GRAY, Samuel Cl.	16 October 1705	Maryland	" " 18/43.
HODGES, — Cl.	29 March 1705	Jerzies	" " 17/344.
ROBERTS, Edward	10 December 1705	New Jersey	" " 18/85.
1706			
CLEATER, Joseph Cl. (Schoolmaster)	9 July 1706	New York	Money Book 18/254.
1707			
BLACKAMORE, Arthur (Schoolmaster)	26 September 1707	Virginia	" " 19/87.
EVANS, Owen	14 March 1706/7	Virginia	" " 18/424.
TUCKER, Thomas	6 June 1707	Jamaica	" " 18/487.
WALKER, Robert	8 April 1707	Maryland	" " 18/446.
1708			
None			
1709			
PICART, Samuel	19 February 1708/9	Leeward Is.	Money Book 19/450.
WHINSTON, — Cl.	1 September 1709	North Carolina	Money Book 20/126.

SECTION II

SOME WELSH NAMES TAKEN FROM "LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS OF 178 CLERGY TO THE OATH BY ACT OF UNIFORMITY TAKEN BEFORE THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON JANUARY 1676 TO MAY 1678 UPON INSTITUTION TO PREFERMENT IN THE DIOCESE OF LONDON AT HOME AND ABROAD."—[*From Rawlinson's MSS. B. 375.*]

12 May 1676

I, *Thomas Hughes*, to be admitted to *teach School*, in ye city of *Tangier* in the *Diocese of London*.

30 October 1677

I, *David Davies*, Cl. to be admitted to *preach* in the *Leeward Islands* in the *Diocese of London*.

30 October 1677

I, *William Jones*, Cl. to be admitted to *preach* in the *Leeward Islands* in the *Diocese of London*.

8 December 1677

I, *John Evans*, Cl.¹ to be admitted to *preach* in the *English Marchs in the Bay of Bengala*.

¹Afterwards lord bishop of Bangor, Wales, 1702-16, and lord bishop of Meath, Ireland, 1716-24.

SECTION III

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF FIFTY-SIX CLERGYMEN, NOT INCLUDED IN THE "DECLARATION OF UNIFORMITY LIST," WHO RECEIVED THE KING'S BOUNTY OF £20 FOR SERVICE OVERSEAS, 1690-1709, WITH BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

[For the chronological listing of these names, see above, Section I, of Part III.]

<i>Surname, followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Warrant for £20 Bounty</i>	<i>Area Licensed to</i>
A		
ALLEN, Mr.	December 10, 1695	Barbados
ALSOP, — Cl.	February 3, 1701/02	Jamaica
ARBUTHNOT, James ¹	October 18, 1705	Leeward Islands
ARROWSMITH	January 18, 1695/96	Maryland
B		
BEECHIN, James	December 10, 1695	Maryland
BLACKAMORE, Arthur ² (Schoolmaster)	September 26, 1707	Virginia
BOUCKER, Henry	January 11, 1697/98	Maryland
BRETT, Daniel Cl. ³	June 7, 1700	Carolina
BRISAC, — Cl. ⁴	January 29, 1700/01	New York
BROCHIN (or BREECHIN), James ⁵	November 16, 1702	Virginia
C		
CANT ⁶	June 29, 1692	Leeward Islands
CLACK, Mr.	December 10, 1695	Maryland
CLEATER, Joseph Cl. (Schoolmaster)	July 9, 1706	New York
CLERK, Andrew (Schoolmaster)	May 2, 1705	New York
COLLEIRE	July 28, 1698	Maryland
COMIN, James (Schoolmaster)	May 8, 1695	Leeward Islands

¹In 1703 £20 was voted by the S. P. G. for books for Mr. Arbuthnot in Montserrat. [Pascoe, p. 211.]
²ARTHUR BLACKAMORE, the son of Arthur Blackamore of London, matriculated May 7, 1695, aged 16, as a pleb. at Christ Church College, Oxford. He received the king's bounty as a schoolmaster, September 26, 1707, for Virginia. Master of the Grammar School, William and Mary College, about 1708 to 1716. "We had a meeting of the College in which it was agreed to turn Mr. Blackamore out from being master of the School for being such a sot." (Next day) "Mr. Blackamore presented a petition in which he set forth that if the Governors of the College would forgive him he would for the time to come mend his conduct. On which the Governors at last agreed to keep him on trial some time longer." (*Secret Diary of William Byrd* for October 28 and 29, 1709.) He was discharged from the College in 1716 for drunkenness, and left Virginia. [Brydon.]

³DANIEL BRETT was the first missionary to North Carolina. He was probably sent by Dr. Thomas Bray under the auspices of the S. P. C. K. in 1700. His mission was not a success. [Pascoe, p. 20.]

⁴JOHN PETER BRISAC was chaplain of the Fort in New York City, 1701. [Morgan Dix, *History of Trinity Church*, I, 161, 485.]

⁵JAMES BROCHIN (or BREECHIN) (the latter in the Virginia *Records*, and pronounced "Bricken") had been taken prisoner by the French on his former voyage to Virginia. Minister of Cople Parish, Westmoreland County, Virginia, 1702. First minister of St. Paul's Parish, Hanover County, 1704. Was dismissed after one year, but taken back on the advice of Governor Nott for six months, and dropped again. Minister of Sittenburn Parish, (Old) Rappahannock County in 1709, and was called again in that year to Cople Parish. Remained minister of Cople Parish, Westmoreland County, from 1709 until his death in 1722. [Brydon.]

⁶ANDREW CANT was in Virginia in 1696, and signed a petition to Governor Andros for more salary. It is assumed in Virginia, but there is no direct evidence to prove it, that the Andrew Cant who came to Virginia was the same Andrew Cant who was consecrated a bishop in the Scottish Episcopal Church. On October 7 (or 17th), 1722, "Mr. Andrew Cant, formerly of the Ministers of Edinburgh," was "consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Fullarton, Bishop Millar, and Bishop Irvine." On June 4, 1727, Bishop Cant acted as a co-consecrator with Bishops Gadderar and Millar in consecrating Dr. Thomas Rattray to the Scottish episcopate, who became *primus* in 1738, and through whose successors—William Falconar and Robert Kilgour—Samuel Seabury received his episcopal orders. [Brydon; see also Walter H. Stowe, "The Scottish Episcopal Succession and the Validity of Bishop Seabury's Orders," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, IX (1940), pp. 323-348, esp. pp. 334, 345, 346.]

<i>Surname, followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Warrant for £20 Bounty</i>	<i>Area Licensed to</i>
Cox, Charles ⁷	March 19, 1691/92	Maryland
D		
DEAN, Henry—Cl.	July 10, 1695	Barbados
E		
EVANS, Owen ⁸	March 14, 1706/07	Virginia
F		
FAUX, Mr. ⁹	October 10, 1695	Virginia
G		
GELLIBRAND	May 29, 1690	New York
GIFFARD, John ¹⁰ (Schoolmaster)	August 27, 1703	Leeward Islands
GOURDON, John—Cl.	December 27, 1695	Maryland
GRAY, Samuel—Cl.	October 16, 1705	Maryland
H		
HAMILTON, —Cl. (Schoolmaster)	March 24, 1700/01	Leeward Islands
HAYS, —Cl.	October 11, 1700	Leeward Islands
HODGES, —Cl. ¹¹	March 29, 1705	Jerzies
HUDSON, George—Cl. ¹²	July 25, 1694	Virginia
J		
JEFFRIES, Thomas	January 11, 1697/98	Maryland
JOHNSON, Thomas (Schoolmaster)	March 17, 1703/04	Jamaica
JONES, Hugh ¹³	December 27, 1695	Maryland
K		
KENDALL, John—Cl.	December 10, 1695	Bermudas
KNIBLE, Mr.	December 27, 1695	Maryland
L		
LENE, Mr.	December 27, 1695	Maryland
M		
MARSHALL, Thomas	January 11, 1697/98	Maryland

⁷CHARLES COX: see Foster, *Alumni Ozonienses*.

⁸OWEN EVANS, son of Owen Evans, clerk, was born at Liangoedmore, Cardigan, Wales. Admitted sizar (age 15) at St. John's College, Cambridge, March 3, 1701/02; matriculated 1702. LL. B. 1707. Ordained priest (London), March 9, 1706/7. No record of him has been found in Virginia. [Brydon.]

⁹—FAUX: no record of him in Virginia. [Brydon.]

¹⁰JOHN GIFFARD: In 1703 the S. P. G. voted £20 "for the support of Mr. Gifford and some others", whom the bishop of London "was sending to Antegoa." [Pascoe, 211.]

¹¹No record of any clergyman named Hodges in either East or West Jersey has been found.

¹²GEORGE HUDSON was admitted sizar at Trinity College, Cambridge, June 22, 1686. One of this name came to Virginia. Brought before the Council of State, April 16, 1695, for having come to Virginia without the bishop of London's license. After reprimand, he was permitted to exercise his ministry. Died in Williamsburg, Virginia, 1696. [Brydon.]

¹³HUGH JONES (1671-1702), the first of this name to serve the Church in America, was the son of Thomas Jones, of Llanedwin, Merioneth, Wales. Gloucester Hall, Oxford: matriculated November 15, 1694, aged 23. Served Christ Church, Calvert County, Maryland, 1695-1702. He died in 1702, being about 31 years old. There are several letters concerning his death to be found among the Sloan manuscripts, British Museum.

Not to be confused with the Hugh Jones who succeeded him in the same parish in Maryland; nor with the Hugh Jones of Virginia, of a still later date. [See Part II above, for the other two of the same name.]

<i>Surname, followed by Christian Name</i>	<i>Date of Signing Warrant for £20 Bounty</i>	<i>Area Licensed to</i>
MILES (or MYLES), Samuel ¹⁴	February 28, 1695/96	Newfoundland
MILLER, John ¹⁵	April 27, 1692	New York
MITTON, Roger ¹⁶	April 27, 1692	Virginia
P		
PHILIPS, James	May 8, 1691	New York
PICART, Samuel	February 19, 1708/09	Leeward Islands
PLATT, Francis ¹⁷	January 11, 1697/98	Maryland
R		
READING, William	January 11, 1697/98	Maryland
RICHARDSON ¹⁸	July 12, 1700	Virginia
ROBERTS, Edward ¹⁹	December 10, 1705	New Jersey
S		
SLADE, S.—Cl.	November 21, 1695	Leeward Islands
SMITH, Simon	January 7, 1694/95	Jamaica
STOCKHOUSE, Thomas	December 23, 1704	South Carolina
STRAICHAN, Adam (Schoolmaster)	November 29, 1700	Leeward Islands
T		
THURSBY	July 28, 1698	Maryland
TOSH (Schoolmaster)	January 5, 1699/1700	Jamaica
TUCKER, Thomas	June 6, 1707	Jamaica
W		
WALKER, Robert ²⁰	April 8, 1707	Maryland
WALLS, Benjamin	January 11, 1697/98	Maryland
WHINSTON, —Cl.	September 1, 1709	North Carolina
Y		
YONG, James	December 10, 1695	Leeward Islands

¹⁴SAMUEL MYLES (c. 1663-March 1, 1728) is probably the person meant. He was the son of a Baptist minister, John Myles, of Swansea, Massachusetts, who had come from Wales about 1662. Graduated from Harvard, 1684. It is presumed that he was ordained by the bishop of London about 1689 as, on June 29th, 1689, he was inducted as rector of King's Chapel, Boston, the only Anglican Church in New England at that time. Myles spent four years in England, 1692-1696, which fits in with the above date of his receipt of the king's bounty. In 1693 he received his M. A. from Oxford. During Myles' rectorship, King's Chapel became a strong parish, and at his death the Anglican Church had become too strong to be uprooted by Puritan opposition. [See E. L. Pennington, "The Rev. Samuel Myles," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XI (1942), 154-178; J. K. Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, III, 287-293.]

¹⁵JOHN MILLER, M. A., was born at Thetford, England, December 8, 1666. Entered Trinity College, Cambridge, at the age of 14; B. A. 1684; M. A. 1688. On March 7, 1692, he was appointed chaplain to two companies of grenadiers in New York at a pay of six shillings and eight pence per day. Chaplain from 1692 to 1695. On his return to England, the ship was captured by a French privateer and Miller was imprisoned. On finally reaching London he wrote a book, dedicated to the bishop of London, *New York Considered and Improved*. In it he urged the appointment of a suffragan bishop for America. [See E. Clowes Chorley, *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XVI (1947), 92-93; W. S. Perry, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, I, 160-161; Morgan Dix, *History of Trinity Church*, I, 73-74, 485.]

¹⁶ROGER MITTON was the son of Robert Mitton, of Starbottom, Kettwell, Yorkshire, blacksmith. Admitted sizar (age 17) at Pembroke College, Cambridge, April 24, 1680. Migrated to Jesus College June 3, 1683. B. A. 1685-86. Ordained priest by the bishop of London, November 12, 1689. M. A. Although he received the king's bounty for Virginia, April 27, 1692, no record of his service in Virginia has been found. In England, he was vicar of Kindwick, Yorkshire, 1698-1705; vicar of Skipton, 1705-1740; rural dean, 1723. Died, June, 1740. [Brydon.]

¹⁷According to the "Declaration of Uniformity List" [see above, Parts I and II], CHRISTOPHER PLATT, signed the Declaration on January 10, 1697/98, and was listed for Maryland also. Probably they are one and the same person.

¹⁸RICHARDSON: no record of him has been found in Virginia records. [Brydon.]

¹⁹EDWARD ROBERTS: In the S. P. G. Minutes for June 21, 1706, we have the following record: "Mr. E. Roberts, Minister of Queensborough, is willing to serve in Salem (New Jersey), Appoquinimink" (Delaware). Thomas Jenkins, of Llangunnoek, Carmarthenshire, Wales, was appointed December 20, 1706, and went, not to Salem, but to Appoquinimink, Delaware. There is no record of Roberts in New Jersey, nor anywhere else in the service of the S. P. G. [For Jenkins, see above, Part II.]

²⁰ROBERT WALKER was an S. P. G. missionary in New Jersey, serving Burlington, Bristol, and Hopewell, 1715-1718. [Pascoe, 855.]

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[Contains biographical data concerning several early Anglican clergymen in New England.]

THE BEGINNINGS OF ANGLICAN SISTERHOODS

*By Thomas J. Williams**

It is less well known than it should be that the American Episcopal Church was not far behind the Church of England in that striking manifestation of resurgent catholicism in the Anglican Communion, the revival of the "religious life." The first successful effort at such revival since the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII was the founding in 1845 of the Sisterhood of the Holy Cross at 17 Park Village West, London. Two years and seven months later, in October, 1847, the Rt. Rev. Levi Silliman Ives, bishop of North Carolina, established at Valle Crucis in that diocese a community of priests and laymen (likewise denominated "of the Holy Cross"). How far Bishop Ives was influenced by the example of Dr. Pusey in the establishment of a monastic society and in his choice of the dedication to "the Holy Cross," it is impossible to say with certainty. But it seems fair to surmise that the bishop's action was inspired by that of Dr. Pusey.

The foundation at Valle Crucis did not long survive its beginning. But a beginning it was of monastic life for men in the Anglican Communion. The tragic story of the Valle Crucis community has been recorded, with many details long buried in forgotten documents by Sister Hilary, C. S. M., in *Holy Cross Magazine*,¹ and by the Rev. Roland F. Palmer, S. S. J. E., in an article on "Blessed William Skiles of Valle Crucis" in the diamond jubilee number of *S. John's Messenger* of the Sisterhood of St. John the Divine of Toronto.²

PART I

THE REVIVAL OF SISTERHOODS IN ENGLAND

THE SISTERHOOD OF THE HOLY CROSS

The story of the Sisterhood of the Holy Cross has been often told: incidentally, but with considerable detail, in the two standard biographies of Dr. Pusey, and, with additional matter, by Mr. G. W. E. Russell in

*The author is rector of the Church of the Holy Comforter, Poughkeepsie, New York.—*Editor's note.*

¹The issue of July, 1945, pp. 200-203.

²The issue of November, 1944, pp. 34-37.

his life of Dr. Pusey.³ Inspired by his concern for the miserable plight of the poor, no less than by an eagerness shared by Mr. Keble and Mr. Newman to foster every manifestation of the essential catholicism of the English Church, Dr. Pusey began to hope, as early as 1839, for the establishment of "Sisters of Charity" in the Church of England. Southey, the poet laureate, about the same time openly advocated such an establishment. Mr. Newman, in a striking passage in his work, *The Church of the Fathers*, voiced his hopes for a revival of the dedicated life for women in the Church of England and gave his reasons for thinking such a revival not impossible.

This passage, reinforced by the teachings of both Mr. Newman and Dr. Pusey, led a young woman, then resident in Oxford, Miss Marian Rebecca Hughes, to offer herself to God in a life of poverty, chastity, and (when such should be possible) obedience. On Trinity Sunday, June 6, 1841, in the presence of Dr. Pusey and another friend, Miss Hughes was professed in holy religion according to the form in the Latin pontifical, and proceeded to the University Church of St. Mary the Virgin to seal her vows by the reception of holy communion. At her side knelt Dr. Pusey's twelve-year-old daughter, Lucy, who with her first communion made an act of self-dedication to the religious state.

It was not until 1845, however (almost a year after the death of Lucy Pusey, who had hoped to be one of the first sisters) that it was possible to make a beginning of community life. This step was taken, in the face of the temporizing and timorous attitude of Dr. Blomfield, the bishop of London, by a committee of laymen, including Mr. W. E. Gladstone, who assumed financial responsibility for the lease of a house near Regent's Park and so made possible the establishment of an organized community of sisters under the spiritual superintendence of Dr. Pusey.

Miss Hughes, who for family reasons was prevented from joining a community, had nevertheless been able to go to Normandy to observe the practical working of monastic rules in the convents of the Augustinian Hospitalers at Bayeux and of the Visitation Nuns at Caen. Thus she was competent to give Dr. Pusey much practical help in the organization and government of the sisterhood. For Dr. Pusey was not only spiritual director of the community, but because of the inevitable lack of training and experience of the nominal superior, the actual government of the sisterhood fell upon him.

³H. P. Liddon, *Life of E. B. Pusey*, Vol. III, pp. 1-31; [Maria Trench], *The Story of Dr. Pusey's Life*, pp. 266-280 and *passim*; G. W. E. Russell, *Dr. Pusey* (in series *Leaders of the Church*), pp. 82-87.

None of the sisters, except the mother superior (Miss Langston) and Sister Anne Terrot (daughter of the bishop of Edinburgh), were strong enough for the long hours of prayer and external work undertaken. Their zeal for ascetic practice, over and above the requirement of the rule, exceeded the bounds of both physical strength and common sense. The story of the struggles of these devoted and inexperienced and not always wise women against ill health, the misrepresentation of enemies and the misunderstanding of friends, and the suspicions of the poor whom they sought to serve, cannot be told here.⁴ Some of the sisters, including the superior, "went to Rome"; others returned to their families or devoted themselves to lives of prayer and service outside the sisterhood; one died as a member of the community, from the effects of a self-imposed rule of too rigorous fasting, and was the first member of the English Church since the catholic revival (and probably since the Elizabethan settlement) to receive holy unction—and that at the hands of an Anglican bishop.⁵ Only one of the original three who entered the community on March 26, 1845, died a sister of the Holy Cross—Sister Jane Ellacombe (*obit.*, Christmas Day, 1854). Five other sisters, however, who joined the community during its eleven years of independent life, persevered in their vocation, and, of these, four perpetuated the life of their community as sisters of the Society of the Most Holy Trinity in which were united in 1856 the Sisterhood of the Holy Cross and the Devonport Society of Sisters of Mercy.

It was for the Sisterhood of the Holy Cross that the first religious house erected as such since the dissolution was built in 1850. And it was from this community that three sisters, including the superior, went as nurses with Miss Nightingale to Scutari in 1854.

THE COMMUNITY OF ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR

In 1847, in the year in which Bishop Ives inaugurated the Community of the Holy Cross in the mountains of North Carolina, a cousin of Miss Marian Hughes, the Rev. Thomas Chamberlain, vicar of the ancient parish of St. Thomas the Martyr in Oxford, was constrained by the wretched plight of his parishioners to gather together "a band of ladies to live under Rule and to work among the poor and lost," with

⁴A detailed and, as far as is now possible, a complete history of the Sisterhood of the Holy Cross, based on existing accounts amplified by material long forgotten and collected from many sources, chiefly contemporary, has been incorporated into the history of the Devonport Society of the Most Holy Trinity and of its foundress, Miss Sellon, compiled by the author of this article. It is hoped that this work can be published during 1948, the centenary year of Miss Sellon's foundation.

⁵There are strong reasons for believing that this bishop was the Rt. Rev. Alexander Penrose Forbes, bishop of Brechin, Scotland.

the hope that they might "eventually develop into a Sisterhood." This hope was realized in the founding of the Community of St. Thomas the Martyr. A great need of the day was definite Christian teaching for the children of the poorer classes. This need was first filled by the schools of the Sisters of St. Thomas, who also conducted schools of higher education for girls of the privileged classes, and a training school for schoolmistresses. To their educational work the sisters added a training school for very poor girls, a day nursery, and an orphanage. As the years passed, fewer and fewer novices were received, other communities proved better able to carry on the work in which this (never large) community had been a noble pioneer. During the Second World War the few remaining sisters asked the larger and, by one year, junior community of St. Mary the Virgin, Wantage, to take over St. Thomas' convent. With the death of the few venerable survivors, the corporate identity, but not the spirit of the work of the Community of St. Thomas the Martyr, came to an earthly end. This community deserves to be remembered as the first of the many teaching orders which have risen in our communion since the revival of 1845.⁶

THE SOCIETY OF THE SISTERS OF MERCY OR THE DEVONPORT SOCIETY

On January 1, 1848, the bishop of Exeter, the Rt. Rev. Henry Phillpotts, issued a public appeal "to the Christian charity of England" for help, financial and personal, in meeting the appalling educational, moral, and spiritual destitution of the crowded slums of Plymouth, Devonport, and Stonehouse. Among those who read this appeal was a young woman of spiritual vision, keen social conscience, genuine love of the poor, an indomitable will, and sufficient means to implement those qualities when a compelling cause should offer its challenge. Such a challenge was presented to Priscilla Lydia Sellon by the bishop of Exeter's appeal. It is thoroughly characteristic of this dauntless sea captain's daughter that the fact of her being (for the first time in the twenty-eight years of her life) "out of health" and in consequence on the eve of a voyage to Madeira, was not given a moment's consideration in the face of Bishop Phillpotts' challenge to Christian charity. Without delay she offered herself and her fortune to the service of God and her neighbor in "The Three Towns." Her father not only gave his consent to her undertaking, but forwarded its accomplishment both by active personal cooperation and by making over to his daughter in his lifetime the portion that would be her due at his death. This, with the money already

⁶The Sisters of the Holy Cross conducted a "ragged school" in the district of Christ Church, Albany Street; but they were not primarily—or strictly—a teaching order.

inherited from her mother, gave Miss Sellon a free hand to inaugurate a campaign of educational, social, moral, and spiritual "slum clearance," which the bishop, for all his satisfaction at so generous response to his appeal, hesitated to countenance on the part of a "delicately nurtured female of gentle birth."

It was probably in the London home of Mr. John David Chambers, the son of one of her father's brother-officers, that Miss Sellon first made the acquaintance of Dr. Pusey; for in the drawing-room of Mr. Chambers' home she met with a group of interested churchmen to lay before them her plans for constructive "revolution in the Three Towns." Dr. Pusey was deeply impressed by the vision and obvious gift of leadership displayed by this young woman from the West Country no less than by the bold aggressiveness of her plans. Henceforth Miss Sellon had no more faithful friend and helper than Dr. Pusey.⁷ Counseling her to choose for her field of labor the most neglected and degraded section of the Three Towns, he gave her a letter of commendation to the incumbent of the newly constituted district of St. James the Less, Morice Town, a suburb of Devonport. On her arrival in April the vicar gave her a cordial welcome. Commander Sellon bought for her use a discarded dissenting meeting house. Lodgings were taken in one of the worst streets of the district, where Miss Sellon was joined by Mr. Chambers' sister, Catherine.⁸

Brought up in a family of thirteen brothers and sisters, Miss Sellon loved and understood boys. In a short time, by personally canvassing the gangs who idled about Keyham Docks, she established a flourishing night school. For equally wild girls, who hung about the streets, she established an industrial school. A reading room was opened for men and a "model lodging-house" for homeless families. Miss Sellon and Miss Chambers visited the homes of the district, administering relief as it was needed. Religious instruction was given (and apparently welcomed) in both schools and in the reading room.

It was not long before the two young women were convinced of the need of a band of helpers organized on a communal basis and living under rules: in other words, a sisterhood. Dr. Pusey encouraged the idea, suggesting that Miss Sellon join the London community and estab-

⁷It was spitefully said by Dr. Pusey's and Miss Sellon's detractors (and they were many and bitter) that the first article of Dr. Pusey's belief was "Credo in Lydiam Sellon." [G. W. E. Russell, *Pusey*, p. 78.]

⁸Lying awake in these lodgings, unable to sleep because of the noise of drunkenness, debauchery, and cruelty about her, Miss Sellon conceived the idea of sending up to heaven a ceaseless stream of intercession day and night for the conversion of sinners and the repentance of the dying, which in 1850 was realized in the establishment of The Company of the Love of Jesus, affiliated with the sisterhood which Miss Sellon founded, and which is still active today throughout the Anglican Communion.

lish a branch house in Devonport. A few days' residence with the Sisters of the Holy Cross proved to her that the rule of that community was not suited to conditions in Devonport. So, with Miss Sarah Anne Terrot of the London sisterhood as a recruit, Miss Sellon and Miss Chambers proceeded to establish a Society of Sisters of Mercy. By October they were joined by Miss Elizabeth Wheeler. Bishop Phillpotts authorized the establishment of the sisterhood, sanctioned the germinal rule and statutes adopted, approved the use of Bishop Cosin's *Devotions for the Hours of Prayer*, and accepted the office of visitor of the society. On the eve of the feast of SS. Simon and Jude, 1848, in the presence of Dr. Pusey, the sisters began their life as a community by singing the first vespers of the feast, and dedicating themselves to God as Sisters of Mercy. Not long afterwards, on a visit to Plymouth for confirmation, Bishop Phillpotts gave the individual sisters his blessing—an act which they always regarded as their formal "consecration" or profession. Thus was instituted The Church of England Society of Sisters of Mercy of Devonport and Plymouth—the first Anglican religious community of women established with explicit episcopal sanction⁹ since the dissolution of the monasteries.

By November the sisters had so far succeeded in their task of education, social reform, and spiritual awakening that Dr. Pusey could write to Mr. Keble that "it was a common saying, 'Morice Town in November is quite different from Morice Town in April.'"¹⁰ No wonder the enemy of souls took alarm and, disguising himself as an angel of evangelical "sweetness and light," stirred up what Bishop Hensley Henson has called "the Protestant underworld" against Miss Sellon and her Sisters. Henry of Exeter proved a doughty champion of the sisters and their superior, instituted a "public inquiry" at which evidence on both sides was heard, and completely vindicated them against the libels of their foes.

The bishop's action was followed in a few months by an even more glorious vindication of the society at the bar of public opinion. The heroic and hitherto unprecedented service of these "ladies" (who refused to be considered "mere ladies") in nursing the victims of a cholera epidemic, which swept the Three Towns in the summer and autumn of 1849, won them public gratitude and nation-wide esteem. It was to meet

⁹The Sisterhood of the Holy Cross (1845) had been established with the consent, but hardly with the approval, and certainly not with the authorization, of Bishop Blomfield, of London. In the year previous to Bishop Phillpotts' action at Devonport, Bishop Ives had himself founded a community of men and received at least one priest to profession in the vows of religion. The Devonport Society was the first sisterhood to receive episcopal sanction.

¹⁰Liddon, *Life of E. B. Pusey*, Vol. III, p. 195.

the spiritual need of the sisters in their trying labors that the daily eucharist was revived in the Church of England.

The scope of this article, concerned with the beginnings of Anglican sisterhoods, does not allow the telling of the history of the Devonport Society after 1849, or more than passing mention of the further persecutions of 1852-3 and of 1861-2; of the signal services rendered by the five Devonport and three London sisters who accompanied Miss Nightingale to Scutari in 1854; of the union of the London and Devonport communities in 1856 to form the Society of the Most Holy Trinity; or of the Hawaiian expeditions of 1864 and 1867, when the first Anglican religious were sent to the foreign mission field. The earliest work undertaken by the Devonport Society—the care of orphans—is continued at Ascot Priory, Berks, to the present day; and there, in the Convalescent Hospital of the Holy Cross and Passion, the first sisterhood to undertake general nursing still ministers to sick and tired bodies.

THE WANTAGE COMMUNITY

In the same year in which Miss Sellon conceived and brought into being the Society of Sisters of Mercy at Plymouth, a young country parson, the Rev. William John Butler, vicar of Wantage, Berks, was able to make a beginning toward the realization of a plan which he already had in mind when, in 1847, he came to the parish. This was the forming of a sisterhood whose members should "go out two and two into villages as school teachers, and so provide for better education of the poor in rural districts."¹¹ The Ven. Henry Edward Manning, at that time arch-deacon of Chichester, and later cardinal, requested Mr. Butler "to find work for a friend of his," Miss Elizabeth Lockhart.

"Through her Butler thought he saw the possibility of the realization of his hopes . . . and shortly after Easter two cottages were taken and the nucleus of what is now the Community of St. Mary the Virgin was formed. Besides Miss Lockhart, the Superior, there was one teaching Sister, Miss Mary Reid . . . In February 1849 they were joined by Miss Harriet Day, and later by a servant girl . . . known in Religion as Sister Charlotte."

For a time, in deference to the wishes of Mother Harriet and Arch-deacon Manning, "Butler's first idea for the sisterhood was given up in

¹¹Allan T. Cameron, *The Religious Communities of the Church of England*, p. 42. To this work and to *The Life and Letters of W. J. Butler*, the author of this article is indebted for the material of the sketch of the Wantage Community. A complete history of the sisterhood has just been published by S. P. C. K., entitled *One Hundred Years of Blessing*.

favor of penitentiary [i. e., what we would call 'rescue'] work . . . after some months it was decided . . . that a house for penitents . . . should be opened at Wantage, under the direction of Archdeacon Manning . . . On February 2nd, 1849, four priests, four sisters, and a few friends met together to dedicate" what, according to the Rev. A. T. Cameron, was the "first Penitentiary work undertaken by Sisters of the Church of England since the Reformation." Three months later, however, Archdeacon Manning, despairing of the catholic orthodoxy of the Church of England, as a consequence of the Gorham judgment and the ensuing baptismal controversy, was received into the Roman Catholic Church, taking with him the superior, Miss Lockhart. Another sister, Miss Reid, soon followed.

"It was a terrific blow to Butler." But he succeeded in preventing the defection of Sister Harriet and Sister Charlotte, both of whom remained faithful to the Church of England and to the community until their life's end. From this faithful remnant has grown the great Community of St. Mary the Virgin, one of the largest in the Anglican Communion, with its schools and "penitentiaries," its parochial mission houses, its homes for the sick and aged, scattered over England from Cornwall to Lincolnshire, and from London to Lancashire; with its foreign mission work in India and South Africa—to say nothing of the signal contribution to the liturgical life of the Church through the printing of the plainsong works of Bishop Frere, G. H. Palmer, Francis Burgess, and others.

The Wantage Community was the first of the many sisterhoods established in his diocese to experience the friendship and help of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, of Oxford, in a time of need. In the crisis arising from the defection of their superior, the bishop "took an early opportunity of visiting the House" to give encouragement and counsel to the two faithful sisters and their warden. He became visitor of the community, approved the rule drawn up by the founder, and when in 1854 Sister Harriet was judged sufficiently well trained in the duties of a superior to assume the government of the community, it was by Bishop Wilberforce that she was formally installed in her office.

The growth of the sisterhood after 1851 was healthy and steady. The founder's original plan of establishing a teaching community was realized beyond his fondest hopes, for the Wantage Sisterhood has ranked for many years as one of the outstanding teaching orders of the Anglican obedience.

THE SOCIETY OF THE ALL SAINTS' SISTERS OF THE POOR

The year 1848 was memorable for yet another event, which bore fruit in the founding of what was destined to be one of the largest sisterhoods of the Anglican Communion. In that year Miss Harriet Brownlow Byron made her first confession to the Rev. W. Upton Richards, incumbent of the Margaret Chapel (afterwards All Saints' Church, Margaret Street), London. Her confessor, while encouraging his penitent in her aspiration to the religious life, advised her not to join the Sisterhood of the Holy Cross or any other then existing community, but to wait for the call which he felt sure would come to her to use her remarkable spiritual and executive gifts in founding a community of her own. For this call she waited three years, for it was not until 1851 that Miss Byron was able to devote herself entirely to work among the poor of the Chapel district. Working under the direction of Mr. Upton Richards, she was soon joined by other ladies, who with Miss Byron as superior began to live under a tentative religious rule in 1852. By May 5, 1856, they were ready for profession, and, on the feast of St. Dominic (August 4th) of that year, they were constituted The Society of the All Saints' Sisters of the Poor. The election of Miss Byron as their superior was confirmed and she was solemnly blessed in her office by Bishop Wilberforce acting for Bishop Blomfield, who was prevented by illness from officiating.

By 1859 the experimental rule and statutes (based like the rules of most of the early Anglican communities on the Rule of St. Augustine and the Constitutions of the Visitation Nuns) had been sufficiently tested to warrant their being "adopted, signed, and sealed."¹² Under the guidance of the foundress and Mr. Upton Richards, the community grew in numbers and multiplied its ministrations of mercy to the uneducated poor, the destitute, aged, sick, and incurable, and to the fallen, until its branches spread over Great Britain as far north as Scotland, and overseas to India, South Africa, and the United States. In 1870 the foundress accompanied a band of her sisters to the continent to nurse the wounded of the Franco-Prussian War. One of these sisters, Sister Helen, came to the United States in 1873 with two others of her community to work in Mount Calvary Parish, Baltimore, Maryland.

"In answer to a request from a committee of ladies in New York, she gave three years to the establishment of a nursing school at Bellevue Hospital, the first of its kind ever undertaken in this country."¹³

¹²The data given above are derived from notes of one of the early sisters, published in *All Saints' (Margaret Street) Parish Paper*, May, 1914, pp. 93-96.

¹³*Society of All Saints' Sisters of the Poor, American Congregation*, pp. 8-9.

It is still considered the foremost training school for nurses in the United States. All Saints' Community was the first of English sisterhoods to establish a house in this country.

MOTHER MARIAN HUGHES AND THE SOCIETY OF THE HOLY TRINITY

Although Miss Marian Hughes had been professed in 1841, it was not until 1849 that she, who had helped Dr. Pusey and Miss Sellon and her cousin, Canon Chamberlain, to make their several foundations, was herself free to live the life of a religious in community. On December 23, 1849, Miss Hughes founded at Oxford the Society of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, over which she ruled as superior until a short time before her death at the age of ninety-five in 1912. Bishop Wilberforce approved the foundation and became visitor. Dr. Pusey was warden until his death in 1882, when he was succeeded by Canon King, afterwards bishop of Lincoln. Mother Marian, who has helped the Devonport Sisters nurse cholera patients at Plymouth in 1849, found the experience useful when an epidemic of the same disease swept from Plymouth to Oxford in 1853. She and her sisters, known from the predominant color of their habit as "the girls in blue," won the gratitude of Oxford's physicians by their efficient nursing. For many years the society engaged widely in educational and parochial work in Oxford and elsewhere. But of late the community has not grown. In 1946 the decreased numbers and the advanced age of most of the sisters made necessary the sale of their convent in Woodstock Road to the University of Oxford.¹⁴

THE COMMUNITY OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST

In the year 1849 there was begun at Clewer, a suburb of Windsor, a work of mercy destined to bear fruit in the establishment of a community which today ranks with the sisterhoods founded at Wantage and in Margaret Street as one of the three largest orders of women in the Anglican Communion. In a number of wretched hovels on the outskirts of Clewer there lived a number of "abandoned women," who preyed on the soldiers quartered at Windsor. Some of these poor souls had been moved by the curate in charge of the district "to desire to give up their fearful trade." But there was no place where they could be received when they did so. "As the question was being debated where to send them," a Spanish lady living in Clewer, the widow of an English priest, Mrs. Tennant by name, "offered . . . to take into her house . . .

¹⁴Two biographies of Mother Marian appeared during the past decade: *Marian Rebecca Hughes*, in the series *Heroes of the Catholic Revival* (1933); R. Townsend Warner, *Marian Rebecca Hughes* (Oxford University Press, 1933).

as many as desired to come." By 1851 the increase in the number of these penitents necessitated not only more commodious quarters, but also the superintendence of someone with greater physical strength than Mrs. Tennant possessed.

It was at this juncture that God raised up another widow to carry on the work, around which grew the Community of St. John Baptist. Land was bought on which stood an old house adequate for the accommodation of the penitents. The rector of Clewer, the Rev. Thomas Thellusson Carter, was so impressed by the importance of this "house of mercy" that he thought it advisable to find a priest "to give his whole time and attention to this work." A clergyman of independent means, the Rev. the Hon. C. A. Harris offered his gratuitous services. His sister-in-law, the Hon. Harriet Monsell, recently bereaved of her husband and children, came to live with him and his wife. She soon became an interested and active helper in the house of mercy, and by Ascension Day, 1851, was in residence there, ready to dedicate herself to God in the religious life.

In her aspiration she was encouraged and guided by the rector, Mr. Carter, who on the festival aforesaid received her as the first novice of a community to be devoted primarily to the care and training of penitent women. In the course of 1852 she was joined by two other ladies. Her biographer and spiritual director, Canon Carter, is authority for the statement that Mrs. Monsell, henceforth known as Mother Harriet, was "professed on St. Andrew's Day, 1852, by the . . . Bishop of Oxford, Bishop Wilberforce. St. Andrew's Day was also the day of the bishop's consecration, and it was his wont to come to the house of mercy, whenever it was in his power, to keep the anniversary which was common to himself and Mother Harriet."¹⁵ Mother Harriet Monsell was the first sister to be professed by an Anglican bishop since the Reformation. Her installation as superior by the same bishop was the first episcopal act of its kind since the dissolution.¹⁶

From this beginning has grown the Community of St. John Baptist, one of the largest sisterhoods in our Communion. Besides houses of mercy, hospitals, schools, and mission houses in England, the community conducts three schools and a convalescent hospital in the United States, and until recently was in charge of a school in the Barbadoes and a hospital in Calcutta.

¹⁵T. T. Carter, *Harriet Monsell: A Memoir*, p. 58.

¹⁶The former distinction has been claimed for Mother Harriet Cannon, foundress of the Sisters of St. Mary, professed by Bishop Horatio Potter, of New York, in 1865; the latter for Mother Harriet Day, installed by Bishop Wilberforce as Superior of the Wantage Community in 1854. Two years later, in 1856, Bishop Wilberforce, acting for the bishop of London, instituted the foundress of the All Saints' Sisters in her office of superior.

THE SOCIETY OF ST. MARGARET

In 1854 the Rev. John Mason Neale, warden of an almshouse for aged men and women in East Grinstead, Sussex (known as Sackville College), was moved by the needs of the destitute cottagers of the countryside to organize a system of cottage nursing in the district. He enlisted the cooperation of Miss Ann Gream, daughter of a neighboring priest, and another young woman, both of whom aspired to the religious life, and sent them to be trained in a London hospital. On completing their training, they went out to nurse their first case in 1855. Such was the beginning of the Society of St. Margaret, the greatest of the numerous great works of the liturgical scholar, historian, hymnologist, theologian, and preacher, who spent most of his short life under episcopal censure, and whose only recognition by Anglican officialdom was the bestowal of the degree of doctor of divinity by Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut.

In 1855 the sisters began community life in a small house in Rotherfield, Sussex, under the rule of Mother Anne Gream and the spiritual direction of Dr. Neale. Their rule was adapted from that designed by St. Francis de Sales for the Visitation Nuns before he was constrained by ecclesiastical authority to cloister them.¹⁷ In 1856 the sisters too moved to East Grinstead. As the needs arose the sisters undertook the care of orphans, the conduct of schools for girls and of mission work in cities. These works are conducted in the numerous dependent houses of the society in England, South Africa, and Ceylon, and in "affiliated" houses in London, Scotland, and the United States. But the primary work of the society has been from its very first years the living of a life of prayer centering in devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus and his presence in the most holy sacrament of the altar. As early as 1857 Dr. Neale instituted exposition and benediction of the blessed sacrament in the sisters' oratory in East Grinstead. This devotion has been continued in most of the chapels of the society to the present day.

¹⁷This rule is at the present time followed by the Roman Catholic Community of Nursing Sisters of the Sick Poor of the Infant Jesus, founded some years prior to the Society of St. Margaret.

PART II

THE BEGINNINGS OF SISTERHOODS IN THE AMERICAN
EPISCOPAL CHURCH

THE SISTERHOOD OF THE HOLY COMMUNION

In the winter of 1845, more than six months after the beginning of the Sisterhood of the Holy Cross in London, a young American woman, Miss Anne Ayres, worshipping in the chapel of St. Paul's School, College Point, New York, was so deeply moved by the sermon preached by the principal, the Rev. William Augustus Muhlenberg, on the subject of Jephtha's vow, that she "resolved to consecrate the remainder of her life for her Saviour."¹⁸ Not long afterwards, before the altar of the college chapel, Miss Ayres was received by Dr. Muhlenberg as the first member of the society to be known later as the Sisterhood of the Holy Communion. Others joined Miss Ayres in the course of the next six years. But it was not until 1852 (the year in which Mother Harriet Monsell was professed by the bishop of Oxford) that the formal organization of the Sisterhood of the Holy Communion took place. The founder and the first members of this sisterhood were inspired by the ideals of the Lutheran Community of Deaconesses at Kaiserworth rather than by the definitely catholic and monastic pattern of the existing English communities. His biographer, Sister Anne Ayres, states that Dr. Muhlenberg advocated sisterhoods "not as ecclesiastical organizations, but as simple evangelical associations."¹⁹ "He thought that they ought not . . . to have a central government, nor be bound by any Vow or Rule."²⁰ The primary purpose of the sisterhood was to provide nurses in Dr. Muhlenberg's monumental foundation, St. Luke's Hospital, New York—"women consecrated by a religious motive and special obligations to the performance of [the] duty" of tending the patients in the wards.

In 1863 Miss Ayres resigned her office of "First Sister," apparently "because she thought that her ideas of governing the other Sisters were not approved by most of them." Whereupon Dr. Muhlenberg "gave sentence that the Sisterhood had been dissolved by the withdrawal of its head, and proposed that its members should now form themselves into 'a company of Christian ladies and work under Miss Ayres as matron of the Hospital.' Four of the little band"—Harriet Starr Cannon, Sarah Bridge, Jane Haight, and Mary Heartt by name—"in sorrow re-

¹⁸F. C. Morehouse, *Some American Churchmen*, p. 130.

¹⁹*The Life and Works of William Augustus Muhlenberg*, by Anne Ayres, pp. 25ff.

²⁰Morgan Dix, *Harriet Starr Cannon*, p. 25.

linquished the work in which they had been happy and hopeful." They "went back to their own homes, not abandoning their faith in the Religious Life and their longing for it."²¹ This was the beginning—although not recognized as such at the time—of the first definitely monastic community of women in the American Episcopal Church, the Sisterhood of St. Mary.

The Sisterhood of the Holy Communion seems to have been only temporarily suspended by the "sentence" of its pastor. In the printed report of his annual address to the convention of the diocese of New York, held in St. John's Chapel, New York, in 1871,²² Bishop Horatio Potter added a note, stating that "the Rev. Dr. Lawrence, of the Church of the Holy Communion, had instituted a Sisterhood which took the name of his church and was actively engaged in several kinds of work; having charge of the wards of St. Luke's Hospital, a Home for Old Women, and a School for fifty poor children, and a Dispensary open daily for the poor of the neighborhood." Another institution in charge of the reorganized sisterhood was a home for convalescents at 334 Sixth Avenue, at that date and for many years afterwards under the superintendence of Sister Catherine. The location of this home has been moved to 212 East 46th Street, and its character changed from that of a convalescent to a permanent residence and transient home for working girls: but, although no sisters have been in charge for many years, it is still known as "Sister Catherine's Home."

Dr. Muhlenberg's sisterhood had been given the bishop's "warm commendation," although it was "not expressly under his episcopal supervision." Dr. Lawrence's sisterhood, on the contrary, "was under his general supervision as Visitor." Its ideals, however, and its organization (like the character of its work) seem to have differed little, if at all, from the non-monastic "evangelical" pattern of the earlier sisterhood of the same man. Dr. Lawrence's sisterhood continued its gradually decreasing activities until the advanced age of its surviving members made necessary their retirement to well earned rest. The life of the Sisterhood of the Holy Communion came to an end with the death of its last sister in 1934.

THE COMMUNITY OF ST. MARY

The women who regretfully retired from their work at St. Luke's Hospital in 1863—Harriet Starr Cannon and her three companions—did not give up their desire for the religious life. The story of their perseverance in that desire and of its realization later in the foundation

²¹Dix, *Harriet Starr Cannon*, pp. 27, 28.

²²*The Church Journal*, October 4th, 1871, p. 315.

of the Sisterhood of St. Mary has been told with understanding and authoritative accuracy by a sister of that community in the pages of this magazine.²³ The following account is a summary, with frequent quotations, of Sister Mary Theodora's chronicle.

Going forth "very much as Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees, not knowing whither, but assured of the reality of God's call," Sister Harriet and her companions enlisted the interest and help of three men, a bishop and two priests, "who, each in his own way, were to make possible the foundation of the Sisterhood of St. Mary." These men were Horatio Potter, bishop of New York; Thomas McClure Peters, rector of St. Michael's Church, and Morgan Dix, who had recently become rector of Trinity Church.

It was Dr. Peters who found work and a home for the five aspirants. The House of Mercy for the rescue and rehabilitation of delinquent women and girls, opened in 1854 by Mrs. Richmond, the wife of Dr. Peters' predecessor, was by 1863 in need of more constant and more competent supervision than its foundress was able to give. Mrs. Richmond had the humility and good sense to acknowledge her limitations and to appeal to Dr. Peters for aid. The latter, seizing this opportunity for reorganizing the House of Mercy, "consulted Dr. Muhlenberg [who] with characteristic generosity warmly recommended the women who had not felt called to share his work at St. Luke's Hospital." With the consent of the bishop, Dr. Peters and Mrs. Richmond gave the House of Mercy into the charge of Sister Harriet and her associates, with absolute freedom "to order their own manner of life so long as the care of the inmates was well maintained." "On September 1st, 1863, Harriet Cannon, Jane Haight, and Mary Heartt—together with a young aspirant [Miss Catharine Hassett], later known as Sister Catharine,"²⁴ entered on their work of bringing order and peace out of the chaos, dirt, and rebellion which they found reigning in their new home. "Sarah Bridge, the fourth member of the group from St. Luke's [who] had been detained by her family from what seemed to them an insane venture . . . joined her comrades the next year together with another aspirant, Amelia Asten."

In the case of the sisters' management of the House of Mercy, love's labor was not lost. Dr. Peters and Mrs. Richmond soon had reason to feel "well repaid for the bold experiment of placing women with such 'queer ideas' in charge of a different project." So well satisfied was Dr.

²³"The Foundation of the Community of St. Mary," by Sister Mary Theodora, C. S. M., in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, March, 1945, pp. 38-52.

²⁴Sister Catharine was for nearly sixty years head of St. Mary's Hospital for Children in New York, and for ten years (1908-1918) superior general of the Community of St. Mary.

Peters that, when he opened his new work of charity, the Sheltering Arms, Sister Harriet and her companions were placed in charge.

It was not long after this that episcopal recognition was sought and obtained for Sister Harriet's aim to establish a religious community. Bishop Potter "listened approvingly" to the plea for the Church's recognition of that aim and for the countenance and advice of their father in God. "With truly apostolic wisdom he summoned a council of able presbyters to advise with him." This council consisted of the Rev. Drs. A. C. Coxe [afterwards bishop of Western New York, and author of *Christian Ballads*], Morgan Dix, A. N. Littlejohn [afterwards bishop of Long Island], Thomas McClure Peters, and Isaac Tuttle [rector of St. Luke's Church, Hudson Street, New York]. Beyond a doubt the young rector of Trinity, Morgan Dix, was the dominating spirit whose influence was manifest in the final reports. After due deliberation a set of resolutions was drawn up and sent to the sisters, who accepted them joyfully.

The bishop, before taking further action, "visited the House of Mercy several times; . . . encouraged the clergy to acquaint themselves with the work, suggested the name Sisterhood of St. Mary; drew up an office for the blessing of the sisters; and finally appointed February 2nd, 1865, as the day of the service." The place appointed for the profession was St. Michael's Church.

The service is described in the annuals of the sisterhood as taking place in the presence of the friends of the sisters and of the Rev. Drs. Dix, Howland, Littlejohn, Peters, and Tuttle, who attended the bishop in the chancel. The ceremony of profession took place during the celebration of the holy eucharist, at the time appointed for the sermon. This took the form of an address to the sisters. It was followed by

"the necessary questions as to their willingness to submit to obedience, to espouse purity, and to persevere in the work of the Lord. These having been satisfactorily answered, the candidates knelt; the Bishop and clergy formed a circle around them and recited antiphonally, *Veni Creator Spiritus*. Several collects and the Lord's Prayer followed, and the Bishop, taking each by the right hand, received her for the work of the Lord into the fellowship of the Sisterhood of St. Mary. Then, again beseeching the favor of Almighty God, the Bishop gave to each his pastoral blessing, after which the Eucharistic office was continued. After the final benediction, the Bishop repeated his individual blessing as the Sisters knelt in order before him."

The sisters professed were known in religion as Sister Harriet, Sister Sarah, Sister Jane, Sister Mary, and Sister Amelia.

It will be noted no vows were taken on this occasion.²⁵ None the less, it was the intention of the sisters to dedicate themselves to the religious life as irrevocably as if the specific vows of religion had been taken, and "shortly after [the time of the bishop's report] the Sisters took the regular Vows of the Religious Estate," at a service held in St. Paul's Chapel, "and the form of vow was added to the Profession office."²⁶

In the sacristy of St. Luke's Church, Hudson Street (the present Chapel of the Blessed Mother and St. John), the first chapter of the community was held in September, 1865. At this chapter Sister Harriet was elected mother superior, which office she held continuously until her death in 1896. Up to this time the Rev. Dr. Tuttle, rector of St. Luke's, had been, by the bishop's designation, chaplain of the sisterhood. He resigned the post in 1866, and was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Dix, who "at once . . . proceeded in collaboration with Mother Harriet to draw up a simple rule of life, which has been handed down almost word for word through several successive enlargements." Dr. Dix also prepared for the use of the sisters a *Book of Hours* which was for a number of years the office book of the community. At the same time a constitution was drawn up with expert legal advice.

In 1865 the sisters had been placed in charge of St. Barnabas' House for homeless women and children, another of Mrs. Richmond's foundations. But the excitement and prejudice, aroused by the comments of Protestant newspaper reporters and Roman Catholic editors in connection with the profession of Sister Agnes in St. Luke's Church in 1866, caused the sisters to suffer such intolerable meddling with their devotional life at the hands of the board members of the City Mission Society, that Mother Harriet withdrew the sisters from the work.

The fire of opposition, once kindled, was not easily quenched. The conflagration spread from the board members of the City Mission to the "lady patronesses" and the male trustees of the Sheltering Arms. The former subjected the sisters to personal indignities, the latter sought to establish inquisitorial supervision over the devotional practices and spiritual reading of the sisters. Of no avail was the insistence of Dr. Peters and the less timid of the trustees "that so long as the work done in the institution was satisfactory, it was nobody's concern what clothes the Sisters wore or what books and ceremonies they used in their own private oratory and rooms." As the very existence of the Sheltering Arms seemed to be at stake, Mother Harriet, after consultation with the chap-

²⁵For the bishop's report to the diocesan convention concerning his action, see Sister Mary Theodora, C. S. M., in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XIV (1945), p. 46.

²⁶*Ibid.*

lain, "sent in a resignation to take effect in ten days. The sisters sorrowfully left their little charges; the bazaar came off with great success; the work was saved."

The subsequent history of the Sisterhood of St. Mary cannot be told within the compass of this article: one can only make brief mention of the heroism of the sisters during the epidemic of yellow fever which devastated Memphis, Tennessee, in 1878, crowned by the deaths of four of them—Sisters Constance, Thecla, Ruth, and Frances—by which they earned the well-deserved title of "The Martyrs of Memphis."²⁷ The high altar of the Cathedral of St. Mary in that city is a memorial to these valiant women.

The sisters had gone to Memphis in 1873 at the invitation of that catholic stalwart of the Southern episcopate, Bishop Charles Todd Quintard. After many years of management of St. Mary's School and the Church Home in Memphis, the community relinquished the charge of those institutions to concentrate their work in Tennessee at St. Mary's-on-the-Mountain near Sewanee, where they minister to the spiritual and educational needs of the women and girls of the Cumberland Mountains. St. Mary's-on-the-Mountain is an accredited boarding-school for girls, a member of the Association of Southern Schools and Colleges.

In 1870 property was acquired by the Sisters on East Forty-sixth Street, where the school was continued until its consolidation in 1910 with St. Gabriel's School, Peekskill (begun in 1872), to form the present St. Mary's School, Mt. St. Gabriel, at Peekskill, New York.

It was natural that Dr. Dix should desire to have the sisters associated with Trinity Parish. Accordingly in 1874, when the vestry prevailed on Dr. Dix to leave the old rectory adjoining St. John's Chapel in Varick Street for the new rectory in West Twenty-fifth Street, the house in Varick Street became Trinity Hospital and was placed under the superintendence of the Sisters of St. Mary. They remained in charge until 1900.

In 1878 Mother Harriet was asked by Bishop Edward Randolph Welles, of Milwaukee, to send sisters to take charge of Kemper Hall, a school for girls at Kenosha, Wisconsin. Here is the mother house of the western province of the community, established in 1905. The southern province was constituted in 1906 with St. Mary's-on-the-Mountain as the mother house.²⁸

²⁷The story of these heroic Sisters of St. Mary and their helpers, a Sister of St. Margaret, Boston, and the clergy of St. Mary's Cathedral, is celebrated in a pamphlet by the Rev. S. C. Hughson, O. H. C., entitled *The Martyrs of Memphis*. A fuller account is given in a publication now out of print, *The Sisters of St. Mary at Memphis: With the Acts and Sufferings of the Priests and Others Who were there with them during the Yellow Fever Season of 1878*.

²⁸The southern province was afterwards absorbed by the eastern province, whose mother-house is at Peekskill.

In 1902 St. Katharine's School for girls in Davenport, Iowa, was placed under the care of the Sisters of St. Mary, and so continued until 1943.

Farther westward still, across the Pacific to the Philippine Islands, the community sent sisters in 1917 to assist in the monumental work being done at Sagada under the late Father John A. Staunton, Jr. This farthest from home of all the community's undertakings has suffered two tragedies: the accidental death by poisoning of two of the sisters; and the devastation of the mission property, with the internment of the staff and other horrors of Japanese occupation. The sisters have returned to Sagada to resume their mission, perhaps the greatest fruit of which has been the founding of the Sisterhood of St. Mary the Virgin for native women.

The three oldest of the community's works are still flourishing. Their first charge, the House of Mercy, removed from the wooded heights of Inwood at the northernmost end of Manhattan Island to Valhalla, in Westchester County, is now known as St. Mary's-in-the-Fields, ministering still to the spiritual and moral needs of girls and young women. St. Mary's School at Peekskill continues the work of St. Mary's and St. Gabriel's Schools. In the buildings of St. Mary's Hospital on West Thirty-fourth Street, New York City, the sisters conduct their hospital ministry to children inaugurated in 1870, as well as a training school for children's nurses and hostel for retreats.

The greatest achievement of the sisters has been their steadfast pursuit of the community's primary object: the living of a life of liturgical worship and of intercessory and contemplative prayer under a rule, whose successive revisions by Fr. Benson and Fr. Langmore, S. S. J. E., and Dr. William McGarvey, have maintained and intensified the Benedictine spirit imparted to its original form by Dr. Dix.

PART III

LATER DEVELOPMENTS

I

COMMUNITIES FOUNDED AFTER 1865

Of the many American communities for women founded in the early days of the monastic revival in the Episcopal Church only two, besides the Sisterhood of St. Mary, have survived to the present day. The Sisterhood of the Holy Child Jesus was founded in 1873, in Albany, New York, by the Rt. Rev. William Croswell Doane, bishop of Albany,

and Mother Helen (Dunham), as a community professing the single vow of obedience. At one time the sisters were in charge of important educational and charitable institutions of the diocese of Albany. Continued decrease in numbers has reduced their activities to the supervision of the Child's Hospital in Albany.

In 1872 the Deaconess' Society of the Diocese of Long Island was founded by the Rt. Rev. Abram N. Littlejohn, first bishop of that diocese, and Sister Julia, who had been a member of the Sisterhood of the Holy Communion, New York. In 1888 the same bishop reorganized the society as a sisterhood, under the name of The Sisters' Community of St. John the Evangelist. The sisters take a life vow of obedience. Their exterior life is one of ministry in the several institutions of the Church Charity Foundation in Brooklyn, combined with an interior life of liturgical worship, intercession, and mental prayer.

II

THE COMING OF ENGLISH SISTERHOODS IN THE 1870's

The association of two American priests, Father Charles C. Grafton and Father Oliver S. Prescott, with Father Richard M. Benson and Father Simeon W. O'Neill, in the foundation in England of the Society of St. John the Evangelist in 1865, brought the American Episcopal Church into closer relations with English sisterhoods. Father Grafton was a frequent visitor at East Grinstead, and, through Father Benson's connection with the All Saints' Sisters of the Poor, he became acquainted with that community. Mother Harriet Cannon visited several of the English convents in order to acquaint herself at first hand with the customs and practical working of the rules of the older sisterhoods. Particularly important was her sojourn with the All Saints' Sisters, from whom many customs and observances were adopted, and from whose headdress of that time was derived the lily-like cornette of the Sisters of St. Mary.

In the early seventies Miss Fanny Paine, of Boston, and Miss Helen Stuyvesant Folsom, of New York, went to Clewer to be trained in the novitiate of the Community of St. John Baptist. Before their return to their native land as professed religious to establish a branch of the Clewer Community, the All Saints' Sisters had been invited, in 1872, by the rector of Mount Calvary Church, Baltimore, to come to that city to work in his parish. They arrived early in 1873 and worked for many years among the white and colored members of the congregation. In 1920 the mother house and novitiate of the community were moved to Orange Grove, a suburb of Baltimore, where the sisters conduct

a home for convalescent girls. In Philadelphia they are in charge of St. Anna's Home for aged women—not an institution, but a home in the truest sense of that word.

But before the coming of this first English community to establish a house in the United States, Sister Teresa, of the Society of St. Margaret, East Grinstead, a relative of Lord Nelson, of Trafalgar, had come to Boston in 1871, at the invitation of a committee of Unitarian ladies to superintend the Children's Hospital. She was followed in the autumn of 1873 by Mother Louisa Mary and two other sisters of St. Margaret. From their mother house in Boston the work of the society extends beyond the boundaries of the United States to Canada and Haiti. In this country they have houses in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

In 1874, the year following the arrival of the Sisters of All Saints and St. Margaret, Miss Fanny Paine (in religion Sister Frances Constance of the Community of St. John Baptist), came to New York with several English sisters to establish a house of their community. The mother house of the American "affiliation" is now in Ralston, New Jersey. Their other works in the United States have already been enumerated.

Another English community, the Sisters of the Church, at one time conducted a school in New York City; but their work on this continent has for many years been confined to Canada.

The communities of English foundation, now long established in the Episcopal Church, are thoroughly American in spirit and in methods of work, and are composed for the most part of American women, trained in the American novitiates.

III

AMERICAN COMMUNITIES FOUNDED SINCE 1874

Of the numerous sisterhoods founded in the United States since 1874 only the names of those which are still in existence, with the dates of foundation and their present location, can be given in this article.

The Sisterhood of the Holy Nativity, now of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, with mission-houses in Wisconsin, California, Nevada, New York, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, was founded in Boston in 1888 by the Rev. Charles Chapman Grafton, formerly of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, later bishop of Fond du Lac, and Mother Ruth Margaret (Vose), sometime of the Society of St. Margaret.

The Community of the Transfiguration, Glendale, Ohio, founded in 1898 by Mother Eva Mary (Matthews), was the first religious com-

munity of the American Church to send its members to the foreign mission field—Wuhu, China. The community has houses in Ohio, California, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and China. In Honolulu the sisters continue at St. Andrew's Priory School for Girls the first foreign mission work undertaken by sisters of the Anglican Communion, the Devonport Society (1864). In China the Sisters of the Transfiguration have been successful in establishing a sisterhood for Chinese women.

The Community of St. Saviour, San Francisco, was founded in 1901 by Mother Gertrude Paula (Mrs. Ames) for work among women and girls.

The Order of St. Anne, founded in 1910 by the Rev. Frederick Cecil Powell, S. S. J. E., and Mother Etheldred (Barry) for the care and education of children, has autonomous convents in Arlington Heights and Boston, Massachusetts; Kingston, New York; Chicago, Illinois; Denver, Colorado; and Hankow, China; also a convention in Emsworth, Hants, the only religious house of American foundation in England.

The Poor Clares of Reparation and Adoration, now of Mount Sinai, Long Island, New York, are a community of enclosed nuns of the second order of the American Congregation of Franciscans, founded in 1922 in Merrill, Wisconsin, by the Rev. Father Joseph, O. S. F., and the late Mother Mary Christine (Mrs. Lily Dorset Gray).

The Teachers of the Children of God, as indicated by the name of their Society, are a community of sisters dedicated to the teaching of children. Founded in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1935 by Mother Abbie Loveland Tuller, the community conducts boarding schools at the mother house in Washington, Connecticut, and in Barnstable, Massachusetts, and day schools in Fairfield, Connecticut, and in Providence.

The Community of the Way of the Cross, Buffalo, New York, was founded by Sister Pattie Ellis in 1940, to enable women called to the religious state to exercise their vocation in a life of prayer mingled with the pursuit of daily work outside the convent.

The Order of St. Helen, Versailles, Kentucky, founded in 1945 by Mother Rachel, formerly of the Order of St. Anne, is in charge of Margaret Hall School for Girls.

CONCLUSION

Not the least significant aspect of this revival, after nearly three hundred years of abeyance, of the religious life in the Anglican Communion, is its testimony to the essentially catholic character of that communion. It is worthy of note that none of the religious bodies which had their origin at the Reformation in the sixteenth century has ex-

perienced any such flowering of the religious life, properly so called. The Lutheran, the Swiss Reformed, and the Methodist bodies, have successfully established communities of deaconesses, all of them avowedly non-monastic in spirit as well as in organization. Only the Anglican Communion has endeavored (and that with the success noted in the present study) to make the monastic life a vital part of its constitution. On the other hand, every part of Christendom which has kept the catholic tradition and practice as to holy orders and the sacraments and which has retained to that end the apostolic succession, has produced and fosters the monastic ideal. Even during the long period when the religious life was dormant in the post-reformation English Church, there were indications that the root from which that life springs was not dead. Witness the semi-monastic life at Little Gidding, and the short-lived efforts at an even more distinctly monastic revival in the period of high church dominance and non-juring influence. When, at length, "the fulness of time was come," the root blossomed forth—first in sisterhoods, later in communities for men.

Some years ago—perhaps a decade—a learned and fair-minded English Dominican, writing in *Blackfriars* Magazine, was constrained to concede that the English Church at the Reformation retained a "root of Catholicism," which eventually made possible the revival of catholic teaching and life which has so astonishingly influenced every province of the Anglican Communion and even every "school of thought" within its bounds. Certainly, of all the elements of spiritual life which witness to the validity of any claim to catholicism, none is more essential or more uncontrovertible than a widespread and flourishing manifestation of the life of holy religion.

SOME LETTERS OF BISHOP WILLIAM SKINNER OF ABERDEEN

Edited by Edgar Legare Pennington

It has been my privilege to examine and edit certain letters of the Right Rev. William Skinner, bishop of Aberdeen. The correspondence is of great interest, not only because it reveals the genuine friendship and concern which the Scottish Episcopal Church felt towards the American Church, but also because it throws light on various personalities and events. The letters were written between 1822 and 1827, at a time when most of the area comprised in the United States of America was still an unexplored wilderness and when frontier conditions prevailed in the eastern part of the Mississippi and Ohio River valley. The Federal government was regarded by Europeans as an experiment, hardly important enough to command serious attention: American culture and literature had not been accorded much respect abroad, although Irving and Cooper were doing their utmost to achieve recognition for their efforts. The Protestant Episcopal Church was gradually emerging from the prejudices and ill will which were the legacy of the Revolutionary War, and it was beginning to respond to the missionary challenge at home and in distant fields. The foundations of the Church were being laid in Florida, Ohio, Louisiana, and other localities during the decade in which Bishop Skinner corresponded with Dr. Jarvis; and the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society was one year old when our first letter was composed.

William Skinner's attachment to the American Church was the consequence of his youthful environment. He was six years old when his father laid his hands on Samuel Seabury, and set him apart as the first bishop of the new republic.

BISHOP JOHN SKINNER (1744-1816)

John Skinner was born at Longside, Aberdeenshire, 17 May, 1744. He was the son of John Skinner (1721-1807), a song-writer, a clergyman, and the author of several theological works. As a boy, John Skinner shared his father's imprisonment; his father, who was minister of Longside, was one of the victims of the restrictions placed on minis-

ters of the Scottish Episcopal Church after 1745-6, because of their Jacobite sympathies. His little church had been destroyed; and in 1745, he was imprisoned for six months because he persisted in preaching in his house to audiences of more than four individuals. Such were the penalties which they endured—penalties which made them very zealous for the things which characterized their faith and practice.

John Skinner was educated at the parish schools of Longside and Echt, under his grandfather—also named John Skinner—a parish schoolmaster. He attended Marischal College, Aberdeen, which he left in 1761. Then he became tutor in the family of Sir Hugh Paterson, of Bannockburn, Stirlingshire. He was ordained deacon in 1763; and priest in 1764, by Bishop Andrew Gerard of Aberdeen. His first appointments seem to have been to the congregations of Ellon and Udney, Aberdeenshire. In 1775 he became minister of the Episcopal congregation in Longacre, Aberdeenshire. His popularity was such that increased accommodations were required. The two upper floors of his dwelling-house were converted into a chapel, holding over five hundred.

On the 25th of September, 1782, he was consecrated at Luthermuir, Kincardineshire, as coadjutor to Robert Kilgour (1707-1790), bishop of Aberdeen, who was the consecrator. The co-consecrators were Charles Rose, bishop of Dunkeld and Dumblane, and Arthur Petrie, bishop of Moray and Ross.

Correspondence was opened with him by George Berkeley, LL. D. (1733-1795), son of Bishop Berkeley the philosopher, owing to the delay in the negotiations for the consecration of the Rev. Samuel Seabury by the English hierarchy. After the American Revolution, Seabury had been chosen by the Connecticut clergy to go to Great Britain and apply for episcopal consecration; but on his arrival, he had encountered considerable difficulty and had met with an indefinite postponement. On August 31, 1784, Seabury applied for consecration to the Scottish Episcopal bishops, who now numbered four. (In fact, there were only about forty clergymen in that depleted and impoverished Church.) Sunday, November 14, 1784, the consecration took place at Aberdeen; Bishop Kilgour (the primus), Bishop Petrie, and Bishop Skinner, laid their hands on the first bishop ordained for America.

Next day the Scottish bishops and Seabury met in synod. They drew up eight articles of a "concordate" between "the catholic remainder of the ancient church in Scotland and the now rising church in Connecticut." Article Five recommended to America the use of the Scottish Communion Office. Hence the American Use owes some of its special features to the Scottish model.

In October, 1786, Bishop Kilgour resigned his see; and Bishop Skinner succeeded him as diocesan of Aberdeen. In December, 1788, Bishop Skinner was elected primus, on Bishop Kilgour's resignation.

Bishop Skinner, deeply mindful of the handicaps which retarded the progress of his Church, was active in bringing about an amelioration of those conditions. The policy which he adopted was eirenical. On April 24, 1788, he presided over a synod of bishops and deans in Aberdeen, when it was unanimously resolved that, in consequence of the death of Charles Edward Stuart (31 January), the Scottish Episcopal clergy should, from Sunday, 25 May, pray for George the Third as king, using the terms of the Anglican Prayer Book. All complied with this resolution except Bishop Rose and James Brown of Montrose. Bishop Rose consecrated Brown as bishop; and Brown ordained Donald McIntosh. With their deaths this particular schism came to an end.

Bishop Skinner bent his efforts towards the removal of the penal laws still weighing heavily on his Church. In 1789 he went to London with William Abernethy Drummond, bishop of Edinburgh, and John Strachan, bishop of Brechin. They were received by John Moore (1730-1805), archbishop of Canterbury; but his Grace accorded them less help than Samuel Horsley (1733-1806), bishop of St. Asaph. The latter took an active part in favor of the measure for the relief of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Leading Presbyterian divines showed a fine Christian spirit in supporting the claims of the Scottish Episcopalians. They were headed by William Robertson, the historian. In fact, the chief opposition came from the Anglican clergy officiating in Scotland. Their objections were seconded by Lewis Bagot, bishop of Norwich, and John Warren, bishop of Bangor. A bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords, owing to the hostility of Thurlow, lord chancellor, who held that there could be no bishops without the king's authority. Thus discouraged, Bishop Skinner returned to Scotland.

He presided over a synod at Laurencekirk, Kincardineshire, 11 November, 1789, to concert measures for further action. Lay delegates were summoned to this gathering.

In 1792 Bishop Skinner visited in London; and watched the progress of a relief bill introduced in the House of Lords, and carried after Bishop Horsley had strengthened it by inserting a subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. The bill received royal assent, 15 June, 1792. By this bill the laity were left perfectly free, unless they attended a chapel in which the reigning house was not prayed for; the clergy, however, were bound to take the oath of abjuration. Unless ordained by an Anglican bishop they were forbidden to officiate in England. A synod held at Laurencekirk, 22 August, approved Skinner's action.

It was the bishop's strong desire to unite the Anglican congregations in Scotland into one body with the Scottish Episcopal Church. This he hoped to do by the appointment of Jonathan Boucher (1738-1804) as bishop of Edinburgh. The scheme, however, was abandoned, partly because of the alarm raised among the Presbyterians, who dreaded an invasion of English bishops.

On the 24th of October, 1804, a synod at Laurencekirk proposed terms of union, embodied in six articles. Bishop Skinner seems to have feared lest the union might imperil the Scottish Communion Office. Before the consecration of John Torry and George Gleig, he insisted on a promise to "strenuously recommend" its use.

In his own diocese Bishop Skinner was a hard working prelate. In 1795 he built a new chapel at Aberdeen. In 1816 he laid the foundation of St. Andrew's Church. He held diocesan meetings of his clergy with regularity.

Married, 27 August, 1764, to a daughter of William Robertson, Episcopal clergyman at Dundee, he left two sons and two daughters. His elder son, John Skinner (20 August, 1769—2 September, 1841), was Episcopal clergyman at Forfar from 1797, and dean of Dunkeld. He was the author of *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy* *** 1788 to *** 1816 (Edinburgh, 1818). His younger son, William Skinner, wrote the letters which we shall review.

Bishop John Skinner published:

- (a) *A Course of Lectures* (Aberdeen, 1786, 12mo.).
- (b) *A Layman's Account of his Faith* (Edinburgh, 1801, 12mo., anonymous).
- (c) *Primitive Truth and Order Vindicated* (Aberdeen, 1803, 8vo., against George Campbell, 1719-1796).

On July 13, 1816, Bishop Skinner died of hernia. He was buried in the Spital Churchyard, Aberdeen.*

BISHOP WILLIAM SKINNER (1778-1857)

William Skinner, the second son of Bishop John Skinner, was born in Aberdeen, 24 October, 1778, four years before his father's consecration as coadjutor. He was educated at Marischal College; and then at Oxford, where he matriculated from Wadham College, 3 March, 1798, graduating bachelor of arts in 1801, and master of arts, bachelor

*The facts which we have just recounted concerning Bishop John Skinner are largely taken from the article by the Rev. Alexander Gordon, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Volume 52, pages 344-346.

of divinity, and doctor of divinity in 1819. His higher education was made possible by the generosity of William Stevens, the friend of Bishop Horne, and Jones, of Nayland, who defrayed part of his university expenses.

In March, 1802, he was ordained by Samuel Horsley, bishop of St. Asaph, who had already evinced his friendship for young Mr. Skinner's father. He returned to his native land; and officiated as assistant, and afterwards as colleague, to his father in the incumbency of St. Andrew's Church, Aberdeen.

On September 11, 1816, he was elected by the clergy of the diocese to succeed his father, who had died two months before. On October 27th he was consecrated bishop of Aberdeen at Stirling. Bishop George Gleig, primus of the Scottish Church, sent a severe but fruitless reproof to the dean and clergy of Aberdeen for electing the son of their late bishop.

Bishop William Skinner was one of the bishops who attended the synod held at Laurencekirk, 18 June, 1828, to revise the canons of 1811. Thirty canons were adopted, and duly signed on the 20th of June.

In 1832 he confirmed 462 persons. He made an effort to circulate religious works in the Gaelic language.

On August 29, 1838, he attended a synod at St. Paul's Church, Edinburgh, where the canons were again revised.

When Bishop James Walker, of Edinburgh, died, Bishop Skinner was unanimously elected primus by an Episcopal synod held in St. Andrew's Church, Aberdeen, 2 June, 1841. During his rule, Glenalmond College, near Perth, was founded (1844), and developed by the Episcopalians in Scotland, as an institution for young men studying for the Church.

The controversy over the refusal of Sir William Dunbar, minister of St. Paul's Chapel, Edinburgh, to administer the sacrament in accordance with the Scottish ritual, occurred in 1843. Acting with the concurrence of his synod, Bishop Skinner excommunicated Dunbar, 13 August, 1843.

He was characterized as "assiduous and exemplary in the discharge of his duties," and he "did much during his primacy to consolidate the episcopal party in Scotland."

He died at 1 Golden Square, Aberdeen, 15 April, 1857. A week later he was buried in the Spital Cemetery. He was married in 1804 to the youngest daughter of James Brand, cashier of the Aberdeen Banking Company.*

*Article by G. C. Boase, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Volume 52, pages 351-352.

THE LETTERS

1. LETTER OF BISHOP WILLIAM SKINNER TO DOCTOR JARVIS,¹
28 FEBRUARY, 1822

[Sheet missing] * * * of our Members, we are, to say the least fully on a level with the Establishment. Those anomalous intruders of English or Irish Ordination, of whom the Concordate complains in such severe terms, are now reduced to a very few Congregations, not above six or seven in the whole kingdom; & in no long time, there will not, I hope, be any in Scotland professing themselves Episcopalians who are not really such, by submitting themselves to the Spiritual Authority of their indigenous Bishops. Unitarianism, blessed be God, is by no means so prevalent in this country, as you represent it to be in Boston.² We have a large, & I fear, a daily increasing body of Independents,³ whose doctrines are very ill defined, & left in a great measure to the caprice of their pastors or the taste of the people. I am afraid I cannot confirm your idea, that the want of a Liturgy is beginning to be felt in Scotland—but I may safely say, that our liturgical forms are viewed if not with positive approbation, yet certainly with much less prejudice than formerly, & even now meet with attention, where they were formerly treated with ridicule if not with contempt.⁴—We run some risk, however, from that contagious Enthusiasm, which is gaining such ground in England among both Clergy & Laity, under the name of Modern Evangelism.⁵ As yet, thank God, there is hardly any of our Clergy infected, but in the Southern districts of the Church, the laity have not, I fear, wholly escaped the Contagion. Between the two extremes of liberality or lukewarm indifference, & this religious & enthusiastic fervour, it is perhaps no very easy matter to preserve the even tenor of our way in the good old paths of primitive truth & order; but in this lies, as it would seem, our present Warfare, & following the great Captain of our Salvation, let us devoutly look up to him for success. We are about to have an English Edition of your singularly pious Bp. Dehon's

NOTES TO LETTER 1

¹SAMUEL FARMER JARVIS, D. D., LL. D., American clergyman and author. Son of Abraham Jarvis (1739-1813; second bishop of Connecticut). Born: Middletown, Connecticut, 1786. Graduated at Yale, 1805. Ordained deacon, 1810, and priest, 1811, by his father. At the time this correspondence began he was rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, 1820-1826. For some time professor of oriental literature in Washington (now Trinity) College, Hartford, Connecticut, 1837-1842; rector of Christ Church, Middletown. He wrote *A Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church*, in 1845; and *The Church of the Redeemed; or, The History of the Mediatorial Kingdom*, in 1850. Died, 1851. [See W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, pp. 530-535.]

²The prevalence of Unitarianism was a matter of concern to the New England clergy.

³The growth of Independency (Congregationalism) in Great Britain was noted by Bishop Skinner. He characterised the tendency as vague, and "left in a great measure to the caprice of their pastors or the taste of the people."

⁴The old intolerance towards liturgical worship seemed waning in Scotland.

⁵The growth of the Evangelical Movement caused considerable apprehension.

Sermons,⁶ published for the same benevolent purpose as that printed in America. The Editor, Mr Oliver Hargreave, a young lawyer of the most excellent principles, both religious & political is a very intimate friend of mine, & has strongly excited my desire to see the publication from the very favourable terms in which he writes to me of the Sermons, & avers that they are not surpassed by any English discourses he has ever seen. He means to prefix, or if he can find as much leisure, to enlarge Mr Gadsdens⁷ account of the excellent Bp. Dehon, which must of itself be extremely interesting to every true Churchman.—We are in expectation of a royal visit early in the ensuing Summer,⁸ an event which has not been witnessed in Scotland for a long series of years, but which will, I doubt not, be attended with considerable benefit to us in many points of view; as tending to make the country and people better known to their Sovereign, & him to them. What Effect it may have on our ecclesiastical Affairs, it is hardly possible to conjecture. We have experienced so little of the sunshine of royal favour for many years, that it is hard to say how we ourselves could bear, or our established neighbours relish, any extension of it to us. In concert with the unanimous voice of our fellow Countrymen we shall doubtless make offer of our congratulations to his Majesty on his arrival in Scotland: & from our perfect consent in doctrine & discipline with the Church of which he is so distinguished a Member both in profession & principle we shall I hope be graciously received. Whether this may lead to any renewal of a small pecuniary grant, which during his Regency was once or twice extended to our Church, it is impossible now to say; but such an effect would be by no means unwelcome to us; as notwithstanding the several attempts that have been made within the last thirty years to improve the Situation of our Clergy,⁹ our pecuniary circumstances are still unequal to maintain that respectable Station in life & even decent appearance in the world, on which in a great measure depend the character & usefulness of a Clergyman. At present our Bishops have only fifty guineas a year *certain*, from what is called the Episcopal fund, in addition to the income which they derive from their pastoral charges, varying from one to two, or two hundred & fifty pounds a year. While the average incomes of the Clergy do not, I am persuaded, exceed one half of these Sums, which barely admit of their supporting themselves & families, & these most of them have, in the most frugal & economical way. Were we, therefore, a little more independent, it would add

⁶THEODORE DEHON, D. D., was born in Boston, 8 December, 1776. Graduated at Harvard, 1795. Ordained priest, 1812. Consecrated, second bishop of South Carolina, 15 October, 1812. He died, 6 August, 1817. His sermons (two volumes) had a large sale in England. The American edition, 1821, was published in the financial interests of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina.

⁷CHRISTOPHER EDWARD GADSDEN was born in Charleston, South Carolina, 25 November, 1785. He was consecrated, fourth bishop of South Carolina, 21 June, 1840. He died, 24 June, 1852.

⁸Bishop Skinner looked forward hopefully to the visit of King George the Fourth. He hoped that the impoverished Scottish Episcopal Church would receive some generous recognition from the new king. The king visited Scotland, landing in Leith 14 August, 1822, and remaining in Edinburgh till 29 August.

⁹The poverty and disadvantages which attended the Episcopal Church of Scotland were still pronounced, even after the penal laws had been repealed.

greatly both to our comfort & respectability, & consequently to our usefulness;—I say a *little* more independent, for I am no Advocate for a very richly endowed Clergy; lest, being but men, the temptations to idleness, & pleasures incompatible with their sacred calling, may be found too strong for them to resist—But I weary you with my prosing, & must bring it to a close for the present; resting in the hope, that I shall be favoured in return with another long & interesting Epistle from your pen: for, believe me, the tie¹⁰ w^{ch} you mention as of no common Strength in knitting us together—altho' we are personally unknown, & I fear likely to remain so in this world, is of equal force on my mind, as on yours; & the Son of the Second Bishop of Connecticut must ever be esteemed as a very dear friend & brother, by the Son of Him, who was so instrumental in bringing about the Consecration of the first American Bishop. I have myself been most happy in a married life for upwards of seventeen years, & have one only daughter: with the Situation of your family it will be very gratifying to me to be made acquainted. In addition to my episcopal duties I have the pastoral charge of a congregation of from twelve to fifteen hundred Souls; & in this latter am assisted by a M^r Browning a young man of considerable talent & steadiness of principle. There is one other small Congregation of regular Episcopalians in Aberdeen; & one of nearly equal numbers with mine of that anomalous kind, which still refuse any connection with a Bishop.—& this in a population of about 45000 Souls.—I have requested Cap^{tn} Milne, of the Brig James & Margaret, the Bearer of this packet, to acquaint you of his arrival & probable time of departure from N. York & will hope to be favoured with a reply by the same conveyance, if you shall find it convenient. Meantime, with my very fervent & hearty prayers for the divine blessing on your pious labours & with renewed & most sincere expressions of well merited esteem, I remain, my dear S^r, your very faithful & affec^{te} friend & brother

W Skinner

(ADDRESSED) To

The Rev^d D^r Samuel F. Jarvis
&c. &c. &c.
Boston.

(ENDORSED) The R^t Rev. Bp. Skinner

Dated Aberdeen Feb. 28, 1822.

Rec. July 25th 1822,

An^{sd} Aug. 10, 1822

2. COPY OF LETTER OF DOCTOR JARVIS TO BISHOP SKINNER,
10 AUGUST, 1822

Boston August 10, 1822.

Right Rev^d and dear Sir,

I received your most welcome letter of February 28th with its most valuable accompaniment on the 25th of July, and I know not how to thank you sufficiently for so rich a present. What adds greatly to the obligation is the value you are pleased to set upon the very scanty returns

¹⁰The close "tie" between the Scottish Church and the Connecticut Church was very real.

which I am able to make for your goodness. Several of the pamphlets you have been so kind as to send me, were already in my father's library. The "Answer to a late inquiry into the powers of Ecclesiasticks, &c." was one of them, and I well remember the delight with which I read it even when a boy. My Father supposed it to be the production of Bp Abernethy Drummond,¹ but from the delicate censure in p 480 of your brother's annals,² I am induced to think he could not be the Author. Will you have the goodness to inform me when you next write, who was the Author? I say when you next write, for you see that I am emboldened by your friendly condescension to consider you as one of my regular Correspondents.—The "Layman's account of his faith and practice" is an invaluable tract, and I think we shall have an edition of it published here with such alterations as will adapt it to the State of our Church and to the republican institutions of our Government.—With regard to the first there need be very little Change; for we are placed so nearly in the same Circumstances that what will apply to the local conditions of the one, is almost equally applicable to that of the other.—We are trying in this Country it is true the new experiment³ whether government & religion can go on in perpetual parallel lines; I will not say unaided & unaided for our benevolent religion will aid government tho' the latter be so unthankful as not to acknowledge or return the bounty. Like its divine Author, it sends its blessings upon the unthankful and the evil, as well as upon the good. It may be a question however whether it is not better to have no establishment at all, than one which protects & encourages a corruption of Xty. The one is our case; the other is yours.—With regard to the second occasion of alterations, I mean the adaptation of the Layman's book to our republican Institutions, I must observe that the Argument in favour of Episcopacy drawn from its assimilation to Monarchy, however it may suit your region, has and must have here a counteractive tendency. The use which we might often make of English works on the subject of the Church, is defeated by this unlucky argument; and it appears to me that by all such arguments our Common Xty is "holpen with but little help." The kingdom of Christ is not of this world, and as it was intended by its divine Author to be a Universal Religion, it interferes not with the political Institutions of any nation, but supports what is good in all. It taught Xns to pay obedience to a Nero, and it now teaches submission to civil rulers even when they are appointed by that most dread of all Sovereigns, the Sovereign people.

Your brother's able dissertation on the Communion Service has given me great satisfaction. I have long been familiar with the Scottish Com-

NOTES TO LETTER 2

¹WILLIAM ABERNETHY DRUMMOND (1719?-1809), bishop of Edinburgh. Episcopalian minister at Edinburgh; bishop of Brechin, 1787; bishop of Edinburgh, 1787-1805. He urged the Episcopalians to submit to the Hanoverian dynasty after the death of Prince Charles Edward (1788).

²The reference is to Bishop William Skinner's brother, the Rev. John Skinner (1769-1844), of Forfar; author of *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy . . . 1788 to . . . 1816* (Edinburgh, 1818).

³Note the references to the "interesting experiment" of a separation of Church and State, and to the far from ideal effects of the Establishment in Great Britain.

munion office, which I think is not only superior to the English, but also to our own which follows it indeed, but *hanc passibus equis*.⁴ A little anecdote⁵ related to me by my father occurs to my mind which perhaps will not be uninteresting to you. In the Convention of 1789 in which our liturgy received its present form, Dr William Smith,⁶ mentioned in p. 47 of your brother's Annals, presided in the lower house; and as it was the wish of Bishop Seabury and the deputation from Connecticut to have the Scottish Communion Service adopted, it was thought best to gain over Dr Smith by attacking his Caledonian predilections. The measure was successful, and he promised his influence in its favor. When in the course of the discussion, the Scottish Communion Service was mentioned as the source of the changes proposed, it was received with a sneer by many of the Southern members especially of the laity. On this, Dr Smith looked around with a very magisterial air, such as he had been accustomed to assume in College (for most of the Southern members had been his pupils) and exclaimed, "Gentlemen, don't condemn before you have heard"; and immediately proceeded to read the passage with admirable elocution. Instantly the whole opposition ceased, and the proposed amendment was unanimously adopted. You will find this fact adverted to, though not mentioned in p. 187 of Bp White's

⁴The comments on the Scottish Communion service are interesting to the student of the American Prayer Book. Jarvis notes that the American use "follows it indeed," but "not with equal paces."

⁵The letter throws interesting light on American liturgical history.

⁶WILLIAM SMITH (born: Aberdeen, Scotland, 7 September, 1727; died Philadelphia, 14 May, 1803). Educator, clergyman, first provost of the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia. Graduated A. M. from University of Aberdeen, 1747. Sailed for New York, 1751, as a private tutor. Ordained deacon: 21 December, 1753; priest, 23 December, 1753. Invited to connect himself with the Philadelphia College, May, 1754; became teacher of logic, rhetoric, and natural and moral philosophy. Active in the preparation of the charter of the Academy. Became provost. 1756: presented a curriculum, "which was one of the most comprehensive schemes of education which up to that time had been devised for any American college." Interested in many matters, e. g., schools for the German settlers. Official in the Masonic order. Strong advocate of the appointment of bishops for America. Active pamphleteer and controversialist. His political attacks led to his arrest and imprisonment for libel. He taught his classes while confined in gaol. D. D. from University of Oxford and Aberdeen. 1762: made trip to England, soliciting funds for the College. Very successful. 1763: D. D., University of Dublin. Did not favour American independence; lived in Barbados Island during part of the Revolutionary War. 1779: returned to aid in the rehabilitation of the College. Became rector of Chester parish, Chestertown, Kent county, Maryland. Established Kent School (which was chartered in 1782 as Washington College, with Doctor Smith as president). Raised more than 10,000 pounds for the new institution.

President of every convention of the Episcopal churches of Maryland during his residence there; invariably sent to the General Conventions. Said to have suggested the name of the Protestant Episcopal Church. One of the leaders in the organization of the American Church. Chairman of the committee appointed in 1785 to adapt the Prayer Book to American conditions; performed much of the work. Elected bishop in 1783; his election not confirmed by the General Convention.

1789: the old charter rights of the College of Philadelphia were restored largely through his efforts. He resumed his position as head. In 1791, John Ewing was made provost. Doctor Smith spent the rest of his life in retirement on his estate at the Falls of the Schuylkill. [*Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XVII, 353-357.]

Memoirs. The good bishop⁷ has of late years had such an abhorrence of the terms altar, priest & sacrifice that he mentions them frequently, and thinks the tendency very alarming towards the Superstitions of the Church of Rome. He is not aware that to use the expressive word of the Answer to the Inquiry "*Subterstition*" may be equally as dangerous as Superstition.

Bishop Seabury to the day of his death transposed the prayer We do not presume &c and used it after the prayer of consecration.⁸ In this practice he was followed by my Father; but though unquestionably an improvement it was an imprudent liberty, because it gave sanction to irregularity. I ventured once to tell my Father so; and I was forcibly struck by the coincidence, when I read your brother's letter to his father, in the 495th page of the Annals.—You see how industrious I have been in the perusal of the books you have so kindly sent to me.

Since I wrote last our Theological Seminary⁹ has been removed to New York in consequence of a bequest of about 53 or 54,000 dollars of which you will find an account in some of the pamphlets accompanying this. I am sorry to say that there is a disposition in the Clergy of Maryland to establish a Seminary unconnected with that sanctioned by the Gen^l Convention.—This they do on the pretext that every diocese has a right to establish its own School, and that this right was recognized by the Bishops themselves. But they are doing it in opposition to the wishes of their own Bishop, and the real reason I am afraid is that they are so deeply tintured with Calvinism or Modern Evangelism as to wish to have a School on their own principles.¹⁰ It is very remarkable that all who hold these tenets become immediately very kind to the dissenters, very indulgent on the Subject of Schism, and so liberal as to think very lightly of Episcopacy.—I very much hope that by letting them alone, and pursuing steadily our own great design, the rest of the Union will be able to make the Gen^l Seminary too re-

⁷WILLIAM WHITE, first bishop of Pennsylvania. Born: Philadelphia, 4 April, 1748; died, Philadelphia, 17 July, 1836. Graduated 1765 from College of Philadelphia. Deacon, 23 December, 1770; priest, 25 April, 1772. Assistant minister of Christ Church, Philadelphia; became rector during the Revolution. Largely instrumental in the organization of the Anglican churches in America after the War. Drafted the original Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church. With William Smith, largely responsible for the American revision of the Book of Common Prayer. Consecrated bishop, 4 February, 1787, by the archbishop of Canterbury and York, the bishop of Bath and Wells, and the bishop of Peterborough. His *Memoirs* are excellent source-material for the formative period of the Episcopal Church in America. Presiding bishop, 1795-1836. [See W. H. Stowe (ed.), *Life and Letters of Bishop William White* (Philadelphia, 1937), pp. 306.]

⁸Bishop Seabury's use of the Prayer of Humble Access after the Prayer of Consecration is significant in American liturgical history. The use was legalized by the Prayer Book revision of 1928.

⁹The General Theological Seminary was established by the General Convention, 27 May, 1817. Instruction was begun in New York, 1 May, 1819. The Constitution was adopted by the General Convention of 1821. The Seminary was moved to New Haven, Connecticut, 13 September, 1820; and returned to New York, 13 February, 1822. The Seminary was incorporated, 5 April, 1822. The bequest referred to was that of Jacob Sherred, who died in March, 1821. [See "The General Theological Seminary Number" of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, V (1936), 145-264.]

¹⁰Note the reference to the Calvinistic tendencies among the southern churchmen, as well as the tolerance towards dissent, modern evangelism, &c.

spectable to admit of competition; in which case our young men will in general be attracted towards it. There are now about 30 Students at the Seminary most of whom are young men of piety, sound learning, and promising talents.—I feel very greatly obliged by the copy of the Concordate. What a primitive document it is! One feels while reading it almost in the Cyprianic age.—The Scottish Episcopal Magazine will be quite a treasure to us, and I shall write to Dr. Russell¹¹ to settle with him which is the most expeditious and certain mode of interchanging our respective publications. At a late meeting of the Conductors of the Gospel Advocate¹² the publisher was directed to send two copies regularly to Scotland; the one in continuance of the numbers sent to yourself, the other to Dr. Russell.—I have received them up to the present month, and now transmit them by Cap^t Milne. After this we shall wait for your directions.—With these, I send several copies of a Sermon preached by me before the Convention of 1821, with an Appendix on the Subject of regeneration. I shall be happy if you will have the goodness to render one of these acceptable to the primus¹³ of your venerable body. I have been long acquainted with the vol. of his sermons published in 1803 my father having sent for it as soon as he heard of its publication. Another Copy I beg leave to present through you to your brother at Forfar; and a third to Dr Russell.—The Journals of our General Conventions to 1814, and the Memoirs of this branch of the Church by Bishop White, you will also do me the favour to accept. These are but small returns for your goodness, but they are all which I can at present think of as likely to interest you.—

¹¹MICHAEL RUSSELL (1781-1848), bishop of Glasgow and Galloway. M. A., Glasgow, 1806; LL. D., 1820. Deacon, 1808. Minister of St. James' Chapel, Leith, 1809. Dean of diocese of Edinburgh, 1831. Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway, 8 October, 1837. D. C. L., Oxford, 1842. A voluminous writer. For many years he was a contributor to the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana* and the *British Critic*. Editor of the *Scottish Episcopal Review and Magazine*. Published an edition of Keith's *Scottish Bishops* (1824); also various historical, typographical, and other writings.

¹²The *Gospel Advocate* (1821-1826) was a monthly periodical published in Boston, Massachusetts, by a group of churchmen of the Eastern Diocese. It continued until December, 1826, when it turned over its subscription list to the *Episcopal Watchman*. [See Clifford P. Morehouse, "Origins of the Episcopal Church Press," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XI (1942), pp. 255-256.]

¹³The primus to whom Jarvis refers was GEORGE GLEIG (1753-1840). Gleig was educated at King's College, Aberdeen; thrice elected bishop of Dunkeld, 1786, 1792, and 1808, but his election was made ineffectual by the hostility of Bishop John Skinner (1744-1816). LL. D., Aberdeen. Bishop of Brechin, 1808-1840. As primus (1816-1837), he endeavored to secure the *regium donum*. He contributed important articles to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (third edition), and edited the last six volumes; and (1801) wrote most of the supplement. He published a *Life of Principal William Robertson* (1812), and edited Stackhouse's *History of the Bible* (1817). "The chief cause of the comparative failure of his administration was his persistent and abortive interference in diocesan elections." During 1820-1823, Gleig contributed some able articles to the *Scottish Episcopal Magazine*, the organ of his friend, Doctor Michael Russell. [*Dictionary of National Biography*, XXI, 424.] He held two synods in his primacy—one at Laurencekirk (1828), and the other at Edinburgh (1829)—to complete the revision of the ecclesiastical canons.

I presume that you are in habits of correspondence with Archdeacon Daubeney¹⁴ and in his letter at p 293 of the Annals I perceive he mentions the letter he had received from D^r Bowden¹⁵ in the name of the Bishop & Clergy of Connecticut, expressing their approbation of "Guide to the Church." In M^r Daubeney's answer to that Communication, he mentioned that he had sent two copies of his works one to the Bishop of Connecticut, the other to D^r Bowden. The Books were never received; and after waiting some time in hopes of hearing some tidings of them, my father wrote to M^r Daubeney expressing the pleasure he had received from his letter and his regret that so untoward an accident had deprived him of the further pleasure & profit to be derived from his writings. My father was somewhat hurt that he never received an answer, though he thought it not improbable that M^r D. never received the letter. If you should have an opportunity, I should be gratified to have the inquiry made whether it was ever received or answered. If the latter I should be greatly obliged to Archdeacon D. for a Copy of his Answer.—This circumstance reminds me also to inquire whether a Copy of my Discourse on the religion of the Indian Tribes ever reached Bishop Sandford,¹⁶ and the Rev^d M^r Horsley;¹⁷ They were sent at the same time with the Copy which had the good fortune of leading to the present Correspondence. I have been greatly interested in the account of Bishop Sandford in Peter's letters to his Kinsfolk. Be so good as to inform me if his opposition to the Scottish Communion Office still continues, and if the opposition affects in any degree the prosperity of the Church.—

¹⁴CHARLES DAUBENY (1745-1827), archdeacon of Salisbury (1804). Author of numerous theological works, partly anticipating the Tractarian Movement.

¹⁵JOHN BOWDEN (born: 7 January, 1751: died: Ballston Spa, New York, 31 July, 1817), clergyman. Assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York, 1774. Rector of St. Paul's Church, Norwalk, Connecticut, 1784-1789. 1791: established a school at Stratford, Connecticut. June, 1796: Episcopal Academy of Connecticut, located at Cheshire, opened; Bowden was the first principal. 1802: professor of moral philosophy, *belles lettres*, and logic in Columbia College, New York. Held this position till his death. Elected bishop of Connecticut to succeed Seabury in 1796; declined on account of ill health. "He lived in times of ecclesiastical controversy, when to give and take in the form of pamphlets was the recognized and orthodox mode of warfare. In the defense and exposition of his cherished principles of church doctrine and government, he struck vigorous blows. (His) controversial pamphlets constitute, for the most part, his literary production." [William A. Beardsley, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, p. 492.]

¹⁶DANIEL SANDFORD (born: Delville, near Dublin, 1 July, 1766; died: Edinburgh, 14 January, 1830). Graduated B. A., 1787, Christ Church, Oxford. M. A., 1791. D. D., 1802. Served curacies in Simbury and Hanworth. 1792: opened an Episcopal chapel at Edinburgh. 1818: moved to St. John's, Edinburgh. Consecrated bishop of Edinburgh, as successor to Doctor Abernethy Drummond. "The appointment of an English presbyter to an episcopate in Scotland was viewed by many with suspicion, and provoked much discussion. But the appointment was in every way a success. As a member of the Episcopal college he was regarded by his brother prelates with affection and respect, and he rendered valuable assistance in the preparation of the canons by which the Episcopal Church of Scotland is governed." [*Dictionary of National Biography*, L, 269.]

¹⁷SAMUEL HORSLEY (1733-1806), bishop of St. Asaph. He took an active part in favor of the measure for the relief of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

Our Bishops as it respects income¹⁸ are not far removed from the Condition of the Episcopal body in Scotland. My father¹⁹ having resigned his parish soon after his elevation to the Episcopate was supported wholly by his private estate which was very limited. Since his time however it has pleased divine providence to order that some provision should be made for the Support of a Bishop. The See of Connecticut continued vacant from 1813 to 1819, and in the mean time efforts were made to establish a fund which now yields to Bishop Brownell²⁰ 1500 dolls per Ann.—The Bishop of the Eastern Diocese²¹ has not more than 700 dolls as Bp in addition to his parish which gives him but 700 more.—The Bp of New York²² has a house and 3500 dolls a year as Rector of Trinity Church, with 1500 dolls addition as Bishop. This with his perquisites in the expensive City of New York enables him to make both ends meet & no more.—The Bp. of New Jersey²³ has probably not more than 700 from all Sources & has all the burdens of a parish.—The Bishop of Pennsylvania²⁴ has little or nothing I believe but his Salary as a parish Clergyman which amounts to about 3000 dolls. As for Bishop Chase,²⁵ the pious & devoted Bishop of Ohio whose eloquent appeal

¹⁸Here we have some interesting figures illustrating the stipends of American bishops, and showing their dependence upon their parochial charges for support.

¹⁹ABRAHAM JARVIS (1739-1813), second bishop of Connecticut (1797-1813), had been one of the leading clergymen in Connecticut before, during, and following the Revolutionary War, and had followed Samuel Seabury in that see. [See William A. Beardsley, "Abraham Jarvis," in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XII (1943), 4-17.]

²⁰THOMAS CHURCH BROWNELL, D. D., LL. D. (born: Westport, Massachusetts, 19 October, 1779; died: 13 January, 1865). Graduated at Union College with highest honors, 1804. Continued his connection with that institution as tutor and professor for many years. Ordained in 1816. Consecrated bishop of Connecticut: 27 October, 1819. Chosen first president of Washington (now Trinity) College, Hartford, an institution chartered in 1823, and built up at Hartford under his auspices. 1852: presiding bishop. Author of several valuable works, notably his *Family Prayer* and his *Religion of the Heart*. [See William A. Beardsley, "Thomas Church Brownell," in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, VI (1937), 350-369.]

²¹The bishop of the Eastern Diocese was ALEXANDER VIETS GRISWOLD (born: Simsbury, Connecticut, 22 April, 1766; consecrated bishop, 29 May, 1811; died, 15 February, 1843). The Eastern Diocese included all of New England, except Connecticut; yet Griswold had to retain the rectorship of a parish until 1834, when he was 68 years old: St. Michael's, Bristol, Rhode Island, until 1829; St. Peter's, Salem, Massachusetts, 1829-1834. [See William W. Manross, "Bishop Griswold and the Eastern Diocese," in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, IV (1935), 13-25.]

²²The bishop of New York was JOHN HENRY HOBART (September 14, 1775-September 12, 1830), who was consecrated assistant bishop of New York, May 29, 1811, with *de facto* jurisdiction because of the paralysis of the diocesan, Benjamin Moore. Hobart did not become rector of Trinity Parish, New York, until 1816, being merely an assistant minister until 1813, and then assistant rector, 1813-1816. [See *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 93-94.]

²³The bishop of New Jersey was JOHN CROES (June 1, 1762-July 26, 1832), born of Polish immigrants, and a convert to the Church. He was consecrated first bishop of New Jersey, November 29, 1815, but for lack of financial support from the diocese, he had to remain as rector of Christ Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey, until his death.

²⁴WILLIAM WHITE, bishop of Pennsylvania, was one of the wealthy men of his day, and needed not for financial reasons to retain the rectorship of Christ Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia; but he chose to do so.

²⁵PHILANDER CHASE (born: Cornish, New Hampshire, 14 December, 1775; died: 20 September, 1852). Graduated, Dartmouth College, 1796. Deacon, 1798;

in behalf of his suffering flock in the wilderness I am sure you will read with great interest, he writes to me of his own Situation as follows: "And now, what can I say to you about our affairs in the West? Except it be that we appropriate to ourselves thro' a firm faith & humble hope, the promise of our divine Master, to be with his Church to the end of the world, to quench not the smoking flax, to break not the bruised reed, to support the weak, & to bind up the broken hearted—our Spirits would indeed, as they often do seemingly, sink under the accumulated difficulties which press upon us.—What would you think if I were to tell you that for my parochial duties I receive not sufficient to discharge the one half—nay one quarter of my post accounts. For my daily bread, my means are the same with those of our first parent.—My hands are stiff and numb with labour, and my body emaciated with Fatigue. As for remuneration for my Episcopal expences, I can depend upon none worth naming yet amidst all these difficulties I feel a divine support, and hope for the best. That Blessed Star in the East arising from the munificence—the Xn charity of our friends in the Atlantick States, greets our longing eyes, as we look forth from amidst the darkness which surrounds us. By it we shall be enabled to support in the Service of our Lord several active and pious Missionaries & the good work will go on. Would that we could obtain such!—Do let us have your prayers."—I am happy to add that the Bishop has lately been appointed President of Cincinnati College, by a unanimous vote of its trustees. This will greatly meliorate his condition.

I am very grateful to you, for the kind inquiries you make about my private concerns.—I am the father of three good & amiable children, a Son in his Ninth year and two daughters, the one Seven, and the other in her fourth. My wife does not enjoy good health, which is a great drawback upon my happiness, but my cup of mercies is notwithstanding full to overflowing. A small patrimony from my father, increased lately by the death of an Aunt, in addition to a salary of 2500 dollars a year makes me quite easy and independent; and being employed from morning to night in the Service of the Church, I have the Satisfaction to know that my labour is not in vain in the Lord.—I sometimes please myself with the hope that I shall one day visit Great Britain. How delightful is the thought that should I visit Scotland I shall find in the excellent Bishop of Aberdeen a dear friend with whom my Soul can take sweet converse. Your family already seems like a part of my own, and though I have not seen I love them. I beg you to present my most respectful & affectionate regards to Mrs & Miss Skinner, and

priest, 1799. 1805: moved to New Orleans. 1811. at Christ Church, Hartford, Connecticut. Made his first journey into Ohio, 1817. 1818: diocese of Ohio organized. 11 February, 1819: consecrated bishop. He decided to found a theological seminary in Ohio. Undaunted by opposition from the East, he solicited money in England. Returned in 1824 with something less than \$30,000. Named the site of the new college after Lord Gambier, and the school after Lord Kenyon. Had trouble with the Ohio clergy, because of his arbitrary rule. Resigned, 1831, and settled on a farm. Moved to Gilead, Michigan. 1835: elected bishop of the newly organized diocese of Illinois. Laid cornerstone of Jubilee College in 1839, having solicited funds in England. He championed the low church contentions, combatting all "idolatrous innovations." 1843: presiding bishop. Died as a result of a fall from his carriage. [Katharine Jeanne Gallagher, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 26.]

believe me to be most truly

Right Reverend & dear Sir,
Your most faithful Son & Servant in the Lord
Sam^l F. Jarvis.

(ADDRESSED) The Right Reverend
William Skinner Bishop of Aberdeen.

(ENDORSED) Copy of a letter to Bishop Skinner
Dated Boston Aug. 10, 1822.

Sent with it,

Bishop White's Memoirs of the Prot. Ep. Chh.
Journals of Gen^l Convention 1784 to 1814, 8vo brds.
Gospel Advocate One Copy for Dr Russell from Jan^y 1821 to
Aug. 1822, inclusive. One do from July 1821 to Aug.
1822 incl. for himself.
first five Nos of Amer. Edition of Wheatly.
Six copies of my Sermon on Regeneration
viz. 1. To R^t Rev^d Dr Gleig Primus
1. to Rev^d Dr Russell Leith
1. to Rev^d John Skinner Forfar
& 3. to himself.
Journal of Special Gen^l Convention Sept^r 1821.
Laws of Harvard College.
Sermon preached before Auxil. Educ. Soc. of the Young Men
of Boston.
2 Copies of Candid Exam. of the Episcopal Chh.
2 Copies of Stackhouse on Doctrine Trinity
1 Copy Boston Ed. of Bp Wilson on the Sacraments.

3. LETTER OF BISHOP WILLIAM SKINNER TO DOCTOR JARVIS,
11 JUNE, 1823

Aberdeen 11th June 1823.

Rev^d & very dear Sir,

Having only last night heard, that Cap^t Milne had arrived from the South, & was to sail for New York, by this days tide, I can but very briefly & imperfectly acknowledge the pleasure which I derived from the perusal of your admirable letter of the 10th of last August; which, having been too late I presume to catch Cap^t M. before sailing from New York last season, only reached me about ten days ago. I feel very sorry for the delay, for many reasons, but chiefly lest from the length of time that has elapsed since you dispatched the parcel, you may have felt disposed to accuse me of neglect, or to believe that it had miscarried & never been received by me. Fortunately I have it now in my power to satisfy you as to the safety of the packet, & to thank you most cordially, as I now do, for its highly interesting & important contents.—I have not been quite so industrious as you, in the perusal of its various, & edifying matter; having been more than usually occupied ever since its arrival in preparing for leaving home on my triennial visitation. When compared indeed with the labours of your venerable Bishops in the duties

of their widely extended Sees, anything that we have to do is little more than recreation, & at this season is very easily accomplished. I administer confirmation in fifteen different places, the most distant of which is not more than seventy miles from Aberdeen; & am usually absent from home about twenty six days. But when I get back, I anticipate much real pleasure from the perusal of the whole of your valuable packet, & from the hope of being then able to write to you at greater length, & with less hurry than I can at present. I will endeavour however, briefly to reply, in as far as I can, to the several enquiries wh^h you make.—You are quite right in your conjectures as to Bp. A. Drummond *not* being the Author of the little tract in “answer to the late inquiry into the powers of Eccles^{ks}” as you will have yourself discovered, when you found leisure to go over the Memoir of my Grandfather prefixed to the first vol: of his posthumous works; the history of the tract in question being there given at p. 48.—I felt assured the “Laymans Account” would give you Satisfaction; & I shall be happy to learn that the Edition of that admirable little work, wh^h you contemplate, is productive of as much good on your side the Atlantic, as it has done on ours: it was really, as the title bears, I believe, the work of a layman; who, engaged in commercial pursuits, & not sufficiently acquainted with literature to clothe in a dress fitted for the public eye the sound principles, wh^h he professed, committed to my father the care of preparing it for the press, under a strict injunction of secrecy, which he never indeed impinged even to his own family; & left us only to amuse ourselves with conjectures like others—but I wd^d readily assent to your opinion, & regret I have it not in my power to put it in force, that “the name of the Author of so excellent a work ought to be told, for a memorial of him.”

I transmitted to Dr Russel last Wed^y your letter, with the copies of your Sermon for himself & the primus: & the Dr will, I doubt not, take an early opportunity of writing to you in reply.—We greatly want both the Zeal & the funds, wh^h you seem to possess in circulating thro’ the medium of the press many valuable little works in defence of the Church & her doctrines. Consequence of this deficiency is apparent in the unavoidable abandonment of our “Episcopal Mag:” the sale of wh^h scarcely remunerated the bookseller for the expense of printing, much less repaid its conductors for the sacrifice of their time & labour.

With Mr Archdeacon Daubeney I have never personally held correspondence, but will endeavour, before I answer your delightful letter at length, thro’ the medium of some mutual friend, to make the enquiry you wish.—I have been greatly amused with the Supposition that good Bp. Macfarlane had by any possibility been thought to be the writer of the Waverly Novels:¹ as, without any disparagement to my venerated friends worth or theological attainments, I may safely aver, that such a suspicion could not have fallen, within the whole British Empire, on one individual so unequal to the task alleged, as Bp. Macfarlane.—

I lament to hear that you should have so serious a drawback on your

NOTE TO LETTER 3

¹Sir Walter Scott did not divulge his authorship of the Waverly Novels until the close of that decade. There was considerable conjecture as to the identity of the writer of those very popular romances.

mutual happiness as M^{rs} Jarvis' bad health, may it speedily be removed, & you & she be long blessed with each other, & in the delightful enjoyment of your very promising family—May our heavenly Father ever keep you & yours under his special protection, & continue to you every blessing, whether spiritual or temporal. My Wife & daughter beg to be united in kind & affectionate regards to you & M^{rs} Jarvis with, my Dear Sir, your very faithful friend & brother

W Skinner

I shall have much pleasure in receiving, as you can find opportunity, the continuation of "the Gospel Associate," & beg thro' you to return its Conductors my best thanks for so valuable a mark of their reward.

(ADDRESSED) To

The Rev^d Dr Samuel F. Jarvis
&c. &c. &c
Boston

Massachusetts

(ENDORSED) Right Rev^d Bp Skinner

Dated Aberdeen June 11th 1823.

Rece'd Boston Aug. 7, 1823.

4. LETTER OF BISHOP WILLIAM SKINNER TO DOCTOR JARVIS,
23 MARCH, 1824

Aberdeen 23^d March 1824.—

My dear & Rev^d Sir,

A letter from your pen always affords a very high treat, & is perused by me & my family with peculiar delight: but, conveyed as your last letter of the 18th Sept^r was, & put into my hands by our mutual worthy & amiable friend the Bishop of New York,¹ it excited sensations not easily described; but of the most pleasing & gratifying description. Allow me first, however, to congratulate you & M^{rs} Jarvis on the interesting addition to your family, & on her restoration to her former health—May the Giver of all good long continue the blessing to you & all yours!—Of the pleasure afforded me by Bishop Hobart's visit I must

NOTES TO LETTER 4

¹JOHN HENRY HOBART (born: Philadelphia, 14 September, 1775; died: Auburn, New York, 12 September, 1830). Ordained, 1798. Successively pastor at New Brunswick, New Jersey, Hempstead, Long Island, and Trinity Church, New York. Established, 1806, The Protestant Episcopal Theological Society for the training of young men for the ministry; this developed into the General Theological Seminary. Consecrated assistant bishop of New York, 1811, and succeeded as diocesan, 1816. Became professor of pastoral theology and pulpit eloquence in the General Theological Seminary. The Protestant Episcopal Tract Society (1810) and the Bible and Common Prayer Book Society of New York (1809), also the New York Sunday School Society (1817), were founded by him. Ill health necessitated his going abroad. He left New York September 24, 1823, and returned two years later, October 12, 1825. He published numerous theological works. "He believed in very definite instructions in matters of faith. Indefiniteness of conviction was to him a cause of insecurity of character. He saw dangers in liberalism; and these drove him to conservatism and orthodoxy as a stronghold against free thinking" [Daniel Dulany Addison: *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 94.]

write you in the very highest terms; prepared as we were by his character & writings to meet a man of no ordinary interest, the reality far exceeded the anticipation, as it has never been my lot before this to meet with a person of more sound & vigorous thought, of more zealous, active, benevolence, in short of more fascinating & pleasing manners—and above all of a more correct knowledge & way of thinking with respect to his theological opinions & views of ecclesiastical affairs than the worthy Bishop of New York. He reached Aberdeen on the 2^d of Jan^y late in the Evening, & left us to our very sincere regret early on the 8th—so that five very short days were all that we were permitted to enjoy of his delightful Company. My brother accompanied the Bishop hither from Forfar, the place of his residence, & he was met here by my venerable Colleague Bishop Jolly² of Fraserburgh, Bishop of Moray, a man of singularly primitive manners, of intense Study, & consequently of much interesting information on most topics of ecclesiastical concern. The pleasure of meeting between him & Bp. Hobart seemed mutually great: yet it could not prevail on my Colleague, in addition to all our Solicitations, to stop with us over the 5th Jan^y as nought could induce him to forego his usual pastoral duties on the Epiphany, altho' he has a most respectable young clergyman to assist him in his clerical duties—The regret at parting so soon with Bp. Hobart was however in some degree mitigated by the hope, I fear now a faint one, which he held out to us of his revisiting Scotland & our Church in the course of next Summer, previous to his recrossing the Atlantic. But I doubt much whether the short time, which he can of necessity allow himself, will prove sufficient for one half of what he talked of being able to accomplish in making himself personally acquainted with the *British* Dominion, not to mention his contemplated visit to the *Continent* of Europe. When he left this, his intention was, early in the Spring, to proceed to Paris, & thence to Rome &c but I learned within a week, that he was still in London. What may have occasioned this seeming alteration of his plans I know not, as ever since he left Edinburgh I have had no certain information in regard to his motions; & I feel very sorry that he has not found time to write either to my brother or myself, as he faithfully promised to do, to let us know how his health stood out, with other particulars of his tour, in which we cannot but now feel a double interest—It is peculiarly gratifying, however, to learn, as I have done at second hand, that the threatened differences between him & his Colleague the Bishop of Ohio are happily made up. It was exceedingly painful to every one who felt an interest in your American Episcopacy, i. e. to every sound

²ALEXANDER JOLLY (born: Stonehaven, Kincardineshire, 3 April, 1756; died: Fraserburgh, 29 June, 1838). Educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen. June 24, 1796; chosen coadjutor to Macfarlane, bishop of Moray and Ross. 22 February, 1798: sole bishop of the lowland diocese of Moray. Continued to discharge the duties of an ordinary pastor in Fraserburgh. Scholar and writer. 1826: D. D. from Washington College, Connecticut. 1826: published *A Friendly Address to the Episcopalians of Scotland on Baptismal Regeneration*. 1828: published *Observations upon the several Sunday services and principal Holy days prescribed by the Liturgy throughout the Year*. "Of a cautious and conservative character," Bishop Hobart, of New York, said he would have "held himself greatly rewarded" had he "gone from America to Aberdeen and seen nothing but Bishop Jolly." [*Dictionary of National Biography*, XXX, 90.]

Churchman, to find anything like disagreement or clashing of interests among your prelates.³ I may perhaps have formed a partial opinion, but it appeared to me, that Bishop Hobart was acting a fair & honourable part, & that he was supporting likewise the general cause of his Church, against, as it appeared to me, the partial & personal views w^h Bps. Chase & Brownell⁴ wished to take of things. Nor could a doubt be entertained of the Bp. of N. Yorks sincerity after the unequivocal proof given of it, in his abandoning his own provincial theological Seminary for that w^h embraced the *general* good of the whole Church. But it is pleasing to think, & I trust my information may prove correct, that these distressing differences are now adjusted, & that Bps Hobart & Chase, together with the Bp. of Connecticuts agent M^r Wheaton⁵ may act consentaneously & harmoniously together in promoting, as they may have opportunity afforded them while in England, the general interests & prosperity of your church. With M^r Wheaton my venerable friend & correspondent D^r Gaskin seems to have been much taken; but at the time he last wrote to me, he had not seen Bp. Hobart, nor I believe Bp. Chase; of course his view of affairs was partial, & all his endeavours had been exerted in behalf of M^r Wheaton & Bp. Brownells application—which, if the differences be now adjudged, will I hope prove equally serviceable to the *general* cause of American Episcopacy. There is however so very much to be done at home, both in England & Ireland, as well as in Scotland, in the way of assistance to the Church, that I fear it will amount but to a mere trifle, all that can be reasonably expected in behalf of your Church from its friends in this country—A considerable grant of our public Money will be required for the new ecclesiastical

³BISHOP PHILANDER CHASE, of Ohio, was in England at the same time that Bishop Hobart was there, seeking funds for his projected college and theological seminary. Bishop Hobart vigorously opposed the project on the ground that the General Theological Seminary had already been established by the whole American Church through the voice of General Convention, and that such sectional endeavors would weaken it. Hobart, however, was not altogether consistent in this position, since he had vigorously opposed the establishment of a "general" seminary, when originally proposed, in favor of "diocesan" seminaries; and he only gave the General Seminary his cordial support after it was moved to New York and came more largely under his control. Bishop Chase was, moreover, successful. Kenyon College and, later, Bexley Hall (the theological seminary), were established in Gambier, Ohio, and are still functioning effectively. [See above, Letter 2, Footnote 25, for biographical sketch of Chase.]

⁴BISHOP BROWNELL, of Connecticut, had recently (1823) secured a charter for Washington (now Trinity) College in his diocese, and his agent, the Rev. Nathaniel S. Wheaton, was also in England soliciting funds for it. [See below, Footnote 5, for Wheaton; see above, Letter 2, Footnote 20, for Brownell.]

⁵NATHANIEL SHELDON WHEATON (born: Marbledale, township of Washington, Connecticut, 20 August, 1792; died: Marbledale, 18 March, 1862). Graduated, Yale, 1814. Ordered deacon by Bishop James Kemp, of Maryland, 1817; priest, 1818. Rector of Queen Caroline Parish in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. 1820: assistant minister of Christ Church, Hartford, Connecticut; 1821: rector. A member of the original board of Washington (later Trinity) College, Hartford, when it was incorporated in 1823. Remained abroad about a year, soliciting gifts for the infant college. Studied architecture in Europe. 1827: supervised the building of a new church—Christ Church—said to be the first truly gothic church to be built in America. 14 October, 1831: elected president of Washington College. Served till 28 February, 1837. Resigned to become rector of Christ Church, New Orleans. There he suffered an attack of yellow fever. His health failed; he never regained it. Resigned in 1844; and went to Europe.

Establishment of two Bishops & three Archdeacons for the West Indies;⁶ but it seems a measure likely to prove of incalculable benefit to both the Black & White population of these islands; and much will depend on the selection made by government of men fitted for the arduous task—With one of the proposed Bishops, Mr Coleridge,⁷ Bp. Hobart seemed to have formed a pretty intimate acquaintance, & very high opinion—a circumstance w^h may be favourable to both Churches from the proximity of Barbadoes to your American Continent, with which and Jamaica I should conceive there was pretty regular intercourse both from New York, and from Boston. A Mr Lipscombe⁸ is reported to be the new Bishop of Jamaica, of whom I know nothing, having never before heard even his name mentioned—Ecclesiastical discipline has been hitherto so entirely neglected among our Clergy in the W. Indies, that it must make the office of a Bishop among them, it is to be feared, a very ungracious & invidious task. And if an earnest desire to benefit the Church, & promote its good cause be not the actuating motive, I scarce think the proposed allowance of £2000 Sterling p^r Annum, could induce any one to quit his native country, & undertake an office fraught with such dangers.—But even these allowances, poor as they are, when the awful responsibility of the office is considered, will I greatly fear be regarded by our Government as sufficient Apology for their not being yet able to make any pecuniary grant to *our* Church in Scotland—The Bishops were indeed most graciously received by our Sovereign at Holyrood house,⁹ but this act of courtesy has not hitherto been followed by

⁶The first bishop of the Leeward Islands, which included the present sees of Barbados, Antigua, Guiana, and Trinidad, was chosen in 1824. A society called "The Incorporated Society for the Conversion of Negro Slaves in the West Indies" had for some years been at work in the islands, and their efforts had been crowned with considerable success. "But the inadequacy of the ancient ecclesiastical establishment to such a task as the conversion of the whole of the negro population in the West Indian colonies has long been generally acknowledged and lamented. And while the duty of communicating religious instruction to the slaves was felt more irresistibly from day to day, the Society was convinced that no exertions could prove extensively successful until the Government led the way by the formation of enlarged and sufficient Church Establishment" [Annual Report of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1824.] An increasing sense of what was due to the temporal and spiritual welfare of the negroes led to the adoption of the required measures. The sees of Jamaica and the Leeward Islands were founded; and the bishops (Lipscomb and Coleridge) were consecrated; and they left for the West Indies, accompanied by their archdeacons and a number of clergy. [W. O. B. Allen and Edmund McClure: *Two Hundred Years: The History of The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1898*, p. 314.]

⁷WILLIAM HART COLERIDGE (born, 1789; died at Salston, Ottery St. Mary, 21 December, 1849). Nephew of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the poet. Educated at Christ Church, Oxford. B. A., 1811; M. A., 1814; B. D., 1824; D. D., 1824. Secretary of the S. P. C. K. Preacher at the National Society's Chapel in Ely Place. 1824: consecrated bishop of Barbados and the Leeward Islands. Found the diocese in a very unsatisfactory condition. Interested in the uplift of the Negro and the betterment of the population. Very active. 1841: resigned because of ill health. First warden of St. Augustine's Missionary College at Canterbury. Published several books.

⁸CHRISTOPHER LIPSCOMB (1781-1843) was consecrated first bishop of Jamaica (1824).

⁹The visit of King George the Fourth brought no pecuniary assistance to the Scottish Episcopal Church.

any additional mark of royal favour to Scottish Episcopacy—A renewed application has been made in our behalf to administration, but as yet we have no intelligence of its being attended with any success—and we are too *small*, & too *well principled* a body, both Clergy & laity, to excite much notice, or much fear of neglect on the part of ministers—were we as numerous, & as noisy & turbulent as are the Catholics, or even the protestant dissenters in England or Ireland, we might then hope to have some favourable notice taken of us—as matters stand, we need not be very sanguine. And I really am not sure, whether the small grant of public money w^h we might with any reason look for, would prove of much benefit to us—as our people would be ready enough to depend upon it, & relax in their own exertions for the support & maintenance of their clergy—so that, while we nominally had the benefit of a public Stipend, we should be scarce any richer than we now are.¹⁰—The reversal of the attainders of 1715 & 1745,¹¹ I am sorry to tell you, is a matter as yet

¹⁰Bishop Skinner thus acutely points out the weakness of State-supported religion in all countries. Within less than another century, all Anglican Churches throughout the world were to have State financial support withdrawn, and even the Church of England receives no tax money from the State, although it is still officially “established.”

¹¹The Jacobite rising in Scotland in 1715 in favor of the son of King James the Second, the Pretender, disturbed the peace which the Episcopal Church was beginning to obtain. After the excitement was over, the Church seems to have enjoyed a considerable degree of prosperity; her chapels were frequented, and intolerance and bigotry seemed to pass away. A sad reverse came with the attempt (1745) of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender, to regain the throne of his grandfather. Many Episcopal families were involved in utter ruin; and the uprising proved almost fatal to the Episcopal Church on account of the sympathy known to exist between the clergy and laity of that communion and the Stuart family. After the insurrection was subdued, Episcopal chapels were burnt down or destroyed; the vestments and sacramental plate were seized as plunder; the clergy were compelled to seek safety in flight or concealment. In 1746 an Act of Parliament was passed providing that any Episcopal clergyman who exercised the ministerial office in any of the “meeting-houses” after September 1st, without registering his letters of orders and taking all the oaths required by law, and praying for King George and the Royal Family by name, should for the first offense suffer six months’ imprisonment, and for the second offense be transported to some of His Majesty’s plantations for life. The Act further declared that any person who resorted to any Episcopal meeting not held according to law, or who did not give notice of such meeting within five days, should be subject to fine or imprisonment; that no Scotch peer should be elected one of the representative peers of Parliament, or be capable of voting for one, and that no person should be elected a member for any county or borough, or vote at such election, who should within a year previously have been twice present at any Episcopal meeting not held according to law.

By this severe statute, the clergy suffered greatly. Some were imprisoned; some came into England, while the greater number left the country altogether and migrated to the colonies of North America. All appearance of public worship by the Scottish Episcopalians was avoided.

On the death of Prince Charles Edward Stuart (1788) all obstacles being removed to the acknowledgment of the House of Hanover, a synod was held at Aberdeen; and in the month of May, King George the Third was publicly prayed for in the Episcopal chapels. Still no clergyman of the Scottish Episcopal Church could hold a benefice or curacy in England. In 1817 a body of canons was drawn up by the bishops and clergy in a synod of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, enacting that the Thirty-nine Articles should be adopted and that the English Communion Office should be used at the discretion of the clergy, provided that the Scottish Use was read at the consecration of bishops and at the opening of synods.

only in expectation; a good deal has been talked of it by our news writers, but whether there be any serious intention on the part of Government to carry into effect a measure so likely to be generally popular, I really do not know—The King is said to be a great *Jacobite*, of course not unfriendly to the relatives of those who espoused that cause. I do not suppose that, if it shall be even adopted, it will be of any service to the Episcopal Interest, farther than by adding some little consequence to a very few of its members; for, as to the restoration of the forfeited estates, & the former wealth of the noble families, that I fear can never take place: indeed there are not a few of them who yet retain their patrimonial estates, & some of them even their family titles by courtesy & complaisance, without possessing however any of the privileges of the peerage—The *great unknown*, as the Author of our celebrated Novels is generally termed, is evidently attached to the Stuart cause, & therefore to Churchmen rather than the Covenanters; & he has done not a little to revive the Jacobite spirit both in England & Scotland. There seems no longer a doubt in the mind of the public, that Sir Walter Scott¹² is the great Magician, who has conjured up all these delightful Scenes of enchantment; & we find him accordingly taxed with it, & having his health drunk in that character at most public dinners in Edinburgh, & that too by persons who would not annoy him in this way, were he not in their estimation fully entitled to the honour.—

I sometime ago employed a friend who occasionally visits Bath, to make the enquiry with respect to Archdeacon Daubeney, which you requested, about your fathers letter to that gentleman, & had lately her answer, in which she tells me, that such a Communication *never was received* by M^r Daubeney, nor *did he ever hear of it*. As the letter was never received by M^r Daubeney, it might perhaps be well that you yourself wrote again to that gentleman, informing him of the loss of the books w^h he had sent to your father, & w^h he probably conceives to have been received & never acknowledged. His address is simply, the Rev^d Archdeacon Daubeney Bath—But he is now getting an old man, & probably on that account not so careful of correspondence as formerly—I see he has just brought out another volume, a considerable effort at his time of life, it is on the Errors &^c of the Romish Church, but I have not yet met with it.

I have as yet received only *one packet* from your Liverpool correspondents Mess^{rs} Rathbone & Hodgson, & that probably the *last* w^h has been sent, as it contained merely the Numbers of the Gospel Advocate for *Nov & Dec 1823 & Jan 1824*.—My set of that publication is therefore deficient from *August 1822 to Nov 1823*. I will therefore thank you, who know how they were sent, to cause inquiry to be made of R. & H. after them, & if possible recover them for me; & if at the

In 1864 the last bar to entire union between the English and Scottish Churches was taken away; the disabilities attaching to Scottish clergy in England were removed, and the Scottish Episcopal Orders recognized by Parliament as well as by the Church of England. (Ellen Webley-Parry: *Epitome of Anglican Church History*, pp. 446-448, 469-470.)

¹²This letter shows that some years before Sir Walter Scott disclosed his identity as the "Author of Waverly," the truth was strongly suspected. Scott was a member of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

same time you would let them know that there is a regular trader between Liverpool & Aberdeen, by means of which I could receive them much cheaper than by the Mail Coach—But I will myself get the Captⁿ of this trader to call on Rathbone & Hodgson & enquire if they have any packets for me—I regret much I can not send you the two last No^s which are all you want of our Scotch Episcopal Magazine, that publication having closed with Dec^r 1822.—Nor is there at present any prospect of the revival of any periodical publication in our Church—We must therefore rest contented with those wh^h we get from England, of which the British Critic & Xtian Remembrancer are those most suited for theologians & Churchmen. I, understand, indeed, that the Xtian Observer is considerably improved of late, & has in consequence been given up by some of our high flying Evangelicals. I have heard a letter of yours to the Editor in the No^o for Dec^r last very highly applauded; but as I do not myself take in the work, I have not yet been able to procure sight of it—Indeed I have very little time for reading works of higher interest, & at this season am always particularly busied with my Lenten duties, catechising the children & young people of my flock three times a week—a work most pleasing in itself, but which occupies a good deal of time—of time however well spent—for there is no part of our labours, I am persuaded, of more avail, than our catechetical duties—There has very little occurred, since I last wrote to you, of any interest in our domestic ecclesiastical affairs—I know not whether I mentioned to you that by means of a pretty considerable Legacy, about £7000, from an old lady, a foundation was laid for a theological institution in our Church, & that she had named the Rev^d James Walker¹³ of Edin^r first professor of the institution. It must of course be for some time on a very limited Scale. This gentleman is now busied in preparing a course of Study to be approved by the Trustees, who are the Six Bishops & himself, & will I hope be ready to commence his lectures by next Winter; to which Candidates for Orders in our Church will be admitted gratis, & will besides receive a small Exhibition or bursary, as we call it, of £10 to assist them in prosecuting their Studies—a certain number of your men intended for the service of the Church will likewise receive a bursary of £5 p^r Ann. each while attending at any of our Universities & pursuing their classical & philosophical Studies—In time this may prove of benefit to us, particularly should the numbers of our Clergy increase: at present a very few candidates for orders are sufficient to supply all our vacancies, of course an institution of this sort is not greatly wanted; & to many of us, the capital city of the country does not certainly appear the most suitable place for educating young men for the service of

¹³JAMES WALKER (born: Fraserburgh, about 1770; died: Edinburgh, 5 March, 1841). Educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and St. John's College, Cambridge (B. A., 1793; M. A., 1796; D. D., 1826). Ordained deacon, in 1793. Became sub-editor of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (3rd edition), then being prepared by Bishop George Gleig, of Brechin. Vicar of St. Peter's Chapel, Edinburgh. Traveled on the continent. 30 November, 1819: held the first regular Protestant service held in the city of Rome. 7 March, 1830: consecrated bishop of Edinburgh. Appointed first Pantonian Professor at the Scottish Episcopal Theological College; held that position till his death. 24 May, 1837: elected primus of the Scottish Church. Published *Sermons on Various Occasions* (London, 8vo., 1829).

country Congregatinos, where the strictest economy is required to maintain a decent appearance upon the small Stipend which their people can afford to give them.

The M^r Nicol, whom you mention, I recollect quite well in the service of my brother in law Dalgamo, but as he was not married when he left Aberdeen I know nothing of his wife. I mentioned the account you give of him to my Sister & her husband, with which they were much pleased, & they beg of you, if it be not very troublesome to you, to make offer of their kind remembrance to M^r Nicol & inform him of their both enjoying their usual health, which, as far as regards M^r Dalgamo, is but indifferent—

I must now have worn out your patience, & occupied an unreasonable portion of your valuable time, in reading so long, & I am sorry to think, so very uninteresting a letter—I will ask Capⁿ Milne, who sails for New York tomorrow, to forward this to you on his arrival there, & acquaint you at same time of the his probably leaving N. York, that I may have the pleasure of a return by him; in which I will hope to have continued good accounts of the health & happiness of all that are dear to you. I will meantime live in the pleasing hope of your anticipated visit to Scotland being one day realised, when I may be able to assure you in person with what sincere friendship I am, my dear Sir,

Y^r very faithfully attached Brother

W Skinner

To M^{rs} Jarvis, & your young folks remember me & all mine most kindly. Have you yet published y^r Sermons on the distinguishing doctrines of the Church, w^{ch} you promised to send me?

The Rev^d D^r S. F. Jarvis—Boston Massachusetts.

(ADDRESSED) To

The Rev^d D^r Samuel F. Jarvis

&c. &c. &c.

Boston

Massachusetts

(ENDORSED) Right Rev^d Bishop Skinner

Dated March 24. 1824.

Rec^d June 1. 1824.—

Ans^d March 2. 1824.

by the Amethyst

Sent Wheatly on Com pr. Am. Ed. N^o 6 to 23 inclusive

—circular respecting Cambridge Church—
Blacksmith's letter. Williams' Edition.

The Rev^d D^r Jarvis will please to forward to me in New York such communications in return as he may wish, by the 10th June

T. N. Stanford

5. LETTER OF BISHOP WILLIAM SKINNER TO DOCTOR JARVIS,
10 MARCH, 1825Aberdeen 10th March 1825.Rev^d and dear Sir,

Although I have been sadly disappointed in the anticipated pleasure of a return from you to my last letter, of date 23^d March 1824, I cannot think of allowing my annual Opportunity, p^r vessel from hence to New York, to escape, without at least renewing my assurances of sincere esteem & regard for you & yours, and apprising you how very acceptable will one of your most friendly and interesting letters be to me in return.

Of our mutual friend Bishop Hobart, for so I trust he would permit me to call him, I regret to say, that I have heard absolutely nothing since last September, when he was about to quit England again for the purpose of passing the winter in some more genial climate in the South of Europe—where I fondly hope his own expectations and the sincere wishes of all his friends may have been amply realised in the complete reestablishment of his very valuable health. It was his intention to revisit Britain early in the spring; & I should be sorry that any thing had occurred to frustrate his plans—as he led us to hope for the pleasure of another short visit to our northern regions, before he finally recrossed the Atlantic. In your church the absence of this good man & active governor must be sadly felt, by his own diocese & in his own flock particularly; & all of you will I feel persuaded be most anxious for his return, & give him the benefit of your daily prayers, as do your & his brethren in Scotland, that it may be effected in God's good time with renewed health & vigor for his numerous & laborious duties. By every one who has enjoyed the pleasure of acquaintance with the Author, his 2 vols of Sermons¹ even eagerly sought after; & they would seem to have completely answered the object he proposed by the publication, as containing most ample proofs of the soundness of his principles, altho' there is a very general regret that he had published them in so hurried a manner, as not to admit of that correctness & polish, w^h are expected in compositions from the press—the typographical errors, you will have seen, are shamefully numerous.—I am at such a distance from the great library and theological world in England as to hear little of what is passing in it, but I am happy to think that the threatened storm in the politics of your church, and the division of sentiment occasioned among the soundest and best principled members of the English Church, by the conflicting claims of the Bishops of New York and Ohio, has happily blown over, & been averted; and that all will again settle down in harmony & peace. I have had an excellent Letter from Bp. Chase, since his return to Ohio, in which he holds out this cheering prospect, and asserts his own determination to do every thing in his power to preserve the unity & harmony of his native Church; and I earnestly pray he may be successful. We have far too many enemies without, I wish I could with truth affirm there were none within the

NOTES TO LETTER 5

¹The title of Bishop Hobart's sermons: *Sermons on the Principal Events and Truths of Redemption* (2 vols., 8vo., 1824).

Church, to encounter, to allow of anything like permanent dissension or rupture between two such redoubted & zealous Champions in her cause, as are Bps. Hobart & Chase; & I sincerely hope to see them soon again manfully fighting side by side, under their divine Master's banner. Many of my best friends were mightily taken with Bp. Chase, & contributed greatly to his success, particularly Lord Kenyon,² Dr Gaskin,³ Mr G. Marriott, Miss Duff Macfarlane, & Mr Thomas Bowdler;⁴ the last mentioned worthy Clergyman has made a pretty considerable donation of valuable Books to the Seminary at Ohio, such as *Bull*, *Waterland*, & the like: but tho' he esteems it a good thing to furnish them with some sound theology, as he tells me in a letter the other day, he does not wish to enter into any disputes or to favour one party more than the other; and therefore he has a mind to make a similar contribution to the *General theological seminary*, and sends me a letter to be forwarded to you, the object of which, he says, is to make enquiry, if such a donation will be acceptable. To this enquiry I doubt not, you will answer in the affirmative, & will feel happy in cultivating the friendship & correspondence of so good a man & sound a Churchman as Mr Bowdler; whose principles, both political & ecclesiastical, as well as his talents, come to him by inheritance from a most sound and very ancient Stock. You are not to be told, that this gentlemans father, John Bowdler Esq^r⁵ who was removed to a better world in honourable age, about eighteen months ago, was one of the warmest & best friends of our Scottish Episcopacy, &

²GEORGE, SECOND BARON KENYON, a bencher of the Middle Temple, was born 22 July, 1776. He married, 1 February, 1803, Margaret Emma Hanmer, daughter of Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart., of Hanmer, County Flint. Died, 25 February, 1855. Kenyon College was named for him.

³GEORGE GASKIN (born: Newington Green, London, 1751; died: 29 June, 1829). Educated at a classical school in Woodford, Essex, and at Trinity College, Oxford. B. A., 1775; M. A., 1778; D. D., 1788. Ordained deacon, 1774. Curate of St. Vedast, Foster Lane. Lecturer in the parish of Islington—a post which he occupied 46 years. 1778: Curate of Stone Newington. Rector of Sutton and Mepal in the Isle of Ely. 1791: Rector of St. Bennet, Gracechurch Street. Secretary, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1821: published an edition of the sermons of Bishop Theodore Dehon, of South Carolina. A vigorous supporter of the Scottish Episcopalians. Member of the English Committee for obtaining a bill known as "An Act for granting Relief to Pastors and Ministers and Lay Persons of the Episcopal Communion in Scotland." 25 May, 1822; Prebendary of Ely. 1823: acted as trustee of the funds collected for the infant Church of Ohio.

⁴THOMAS BOWDLER, the younger (born: 13 March, 1782; died: 12 November, 1856). Educated at private schools, and at St. John's College, Oxford. B. A., 1803; M. A., 1806. Curate of Leyton, Essex, 1803. Held livings of Ash and Ridley, and Addington (Kent). Incumbent of the Church at Sudenham in 1834. Active in opposing the Tractarian Movement. 1846: Secretary of the Church Building Society, which his father, John Bowdler (1746-1823), had been instrumental in founding. 7 December, 1849: received a prebend in St. Paul's Cathedral. Author of a large number of published sermons. Wrote a memoir of his father. Edited with Launcelot Sharpe the Greek version of Launcelot Andrewes' *Devotions*. Editor of the edition of Gibbon prepared by his uncle, Thomas Bowdler (1754-1825).

⁵JOHN BOWDLER (born: Bath, 18 March, 1746; died: Eltham, 29 June, 1823). Of a distinguished Shropshire family, prominent in letters and state, but of pronounced Jacobite sympathies. November, 1779: attended Robert Gordon, non-juring bishop, through a fatal illness. Of reforming zeal. 1795; wrote a long letter to Lord Auckland, fiercely attacking the clergy and legislators for neglecting

felt no less interested in the growing prosperity of your American Church, and in both this his friendship and interest he is likely to have a most worthy successor in his excellent Son.

The even and quiet tenor of our ecclesiastical course has not been much interrupted, since I wrote to you last, nor have I anything of peculiar interest to communicate. Of new theological publications you hear, & I dare say see them, at most as soon as I do. To our Scottish Episcopal Magazine, whose premature & untimely death was perhaps matter of regret, there has lately succeeded from the London press a periodical of more general interest, & considerably greater bulk, in the form of a "New Theological Quarterly Review;" which I would hope may prove more successful & profitable than ours—It is said to be the attempt of a third party in the church to moderate between the ultras of both sides, orthodox & evangelical, and, if conducted with the requisite ability, may be found useful to both. The avowed Editor at present is the Rev^d Dr Burrow, who some years ago published a work of some character under the title, if I recollect, of "a Summary of Xtian doctrine." Of this new Review, my friend Mr Bowdler writes me as follows—"You will no doubt have seen the Quarterly Theological Review long ago, & I hope will have been pleased with it. The first N^o was thought by some persons to be feeble, & I own it struck me as being so. It

morality and religion. 1796: addressed letters to the archbishop of Canterbury and Bishops Porteous and Horsley on the same subject. 1797: published *Reform or Ruin*. This pamphlet had a wide sale. Other pamphlets. 1815: formed a committee to memorialize the government to erect additional churches in the populous parts of England out of public funds. 1816: petitioned Lord Sidmouth to abolish lotteries. One of the founders of the Church Building Society.

Bishop Chase, in his address to the 7th annual convention of the diocese of Ohio (1824), stated:

"I brought with me from England a rich and well wrought set of Communion Plate for the chapel of our intended seminary, on the chief piece of which is the following inscription:

A FLAGON, TWO CHALICES, TWO PATENS, AND COLLECTING PLATE.
THIS COMMUNION PLATE
WAS PURCHASED WITH A SUM OF MONEY WHICH THE LATE

JOHN BOWDLER, ESQ.,
OF ELTHAM IN KENT, ENGLAND
APPROPRIATED TO THE USE OF THE

RIGHT REV. PHILANDER CHASE, D. D., BISHOP OF OHIO;
AND WAS, BY THE BISHOP'S DESIRE,
DEDICATED FOREVER TO THE SERVICE OF THIS CHAPEL
A. D. 1824

"John Bowdler, Esq., whose name is thus connected with our infant Seminary, and whose memory we shall ever cherish with gratitude, died some months before my arrival in England. Previously to this event, the Rev. Dr. Jarvis, of Boston, had communicated to the Scottish Bishops an account of our newly-formed Diocese, and of its interesting condition.

"This information Mr. Bowdler received through the Scottish Bishops, while on his death-bed; and was thus moved to leave behind him a memorial of his regard for the Church in the wilderness."

has however been so successful, that the proprietors are printing a 2^o Edition of 1000 Copies—the first, w^h had 2000, being nearly sold. Many of them, no doubt were given away, but the demand for more is a clear proof of success, beyond what was anticipated. The next N^o is to be more brilliant, & powerful. I am much interested in its prosperity, knowing the principles on which it is conducted.”—In M^r B’s sentiments of the work & wishes for its success, I have reason to concur, and I hope it will prove a not unacceptable addition to the theological Stores of our brethren in America; and at the same time afford an excellent channel for imparting to their friends in this country early & interesting tidings of the continued prosperity of American Episcopacy. If you can furnish them with such I am persuaded you have only to mention the matter to M^r Bowdler, & he will procure for you an early insertion—D^r Russell undertakes to provide them in Scottish intelligence. Since I last wrote, I have received one packet from Liverpool of the Gospel Advocate &c but my set is still deficient in the N^os from Aug^t 1822 to Febr^y 1823—and reaches only as far as Sept^r 1824. I mention this that if it be not very troublesome to you, enquiry may be made of your books seller, whether the missing N^os have ever been forwarded & if they are yet to be had, may be recovered, as I am anxious to have a little work I esteem very much, perfect, and bound up in Volumes—I have a young friend too now settled in Liverpool, to whom I should be glad that you would cause your correspondents Mess^{rs} Rathbone & Hodgson to deliver the packets, and he will undertake to forward them to me—his address is “Peter Kilgour Esq^r Mess^{rs} Robertson and Kilgour, Liverpool”—

An application has recently been made to our episcopal college, thro’ our primus, by an English Clergyman of well reputed talents & respected ability, who has resided for the last five years mostly in France, & has thus had an opportunity of ascertaining what an advantage it would prove, as he thinks, to the numerous British residents on the Continent of Europe to have the benefit of episcopal offices from the hands of a duly consecrated Bishop, in which capacity he himself is most anxious to be enabled to return to France, & to devote to them his ministrations.—Of his character and fitness for the sacred office to which he aspires, this gentleman, the Rev^d D^r Luscombe,⁶ has produced most ample testimonials from Dignitaries & clergymen of the Church of England, of undoubted respectability, & well known to most of our Bishops;

⁶MICHAEL HENRY THORNHILL LUSCOMBE (born: 1776; died: 24 August, 1846). Of Catharine Hall, Cambridge; M. A., 1805. Incorporated at Oxford, and D. C. L., 1810. Consecrated to a continental bishopric by the bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 20 March, 1825, at Sterling. Appointed embassy chaplain at Paris, 1825. Retained this post till his death. Helped to found the *Christian Remembrancer*, 1841. Published a volume of sermons translated from the French, by Protestant divines on the continent (1825, 8vo.) Published *The Pleasures of Society, a Poem*.

This was neither the first nor the last time that the Scottish Episcopal Church supplied a bishop for regions where the English Church was estopped by the refusal of the state to allow the English bishops to consecrate. The first, of course, was the case of Samuel Seabury for America in 1784; the second, Luscombe; the third, Dr. Henry Callaway, on November 1, 1873, as missionary bishop for “Independent Kaffraria” (now “St. John’s”), South Africa; and the fourth, Robert K. Kestell-Cornish, February 2, 1874, as bishop of Madagascar. [See C. F. Pascoe, *200 Years of the S. P. G.*, pp. 312-313, 377.]

and on that score there has not arisen the shadow of an objection. Dr Luscombe's application to the Bishops of the Church in Scotland evidently arose from the difficulties, which he foresaw he should encounter in obtaining consecration in England, where the Church is so connected with the State as to be fettered by political considerations; and the Government of France might not relish the authorised introduction of a form of religious polity so hostile to its own establishment. It naturally occurred therefore to him & his friends, that much less opposition would arise to his views, & much less apprehension be excited on the part of the French Government, by his deriving his episcopal authority from a source purely spiritual, & which interferred not at all with the civil Government of either country.—Such an application constituted a perfectly novel case in our little church—for, altho' apparently similar to that of Bishop Seabury, it differs most widely in several of its most important features, and has therefore given rise to not a little discussion among us.—It seemed a delicate matter for us to listen to an application of this sort from a Clergyman of the Church of England without first ascertaining how the heads of that Church might feel disposed towards it—nor was there less delicacy in our sending a Bishop into France without the sanction, either expressed or implied, of our own Government, lest our doing so might in any way involve the peace of the two countries—On both these points therefore satisfaction was required, and, in the opinion of the majority of our number, it has been obtained—But the most material objection of all has seemed to some of us, to my brother Bp. Torry⁷ & myself, to be a want on the part of Dr Luscombe of a proper deed of Election and recognition of him as a Bishop from the Clergy at least, if not the laity, over whom his episcopal authority is meant to extend. To us two it has seemed a departure from primitive principles, as well as from the antecedent practice of our own church, to grant consecration without such election, & to comply with the wishes merely of an individual, however respectable, who is desirous to be made a Bishop. Altho', therefore, we are of one heart & of one mind with our Brethren in respect of the unexceptionable character of the applicant, & feel no less friendly to the introduction of anything like a pure protestant Episcopacy into France, (limited as Dr Luscombe's views strictly are to the professed Members of the Church of England in France, of whom he asserts there are not fewer than

⁷PATRICK TORRY (born: 27 December, 1763, in the parish of King Edward, Aberdeenshire; died: 3 October, 1852, at Peterhead). Educated as a member of the established Presbyterian Church of Scotland. His uncle, James Watson, a Jacobite, influenced him to become interested in the Episcopal Church. September, 1782: ordained deacon in the Scottish Episcopal Church at the age of 19, by Bishop Robert Kilgour, of Aberdeen. Put in charge of a congregation at Arradoul, in Rathven Parish, Banffshire. 1783: ordained priest. 1787: married a daughter of Bishop Kilgour. 1789: became Bishop Kilgour's assistant in his charge at Peterhead. Succeeded to the charge in 1791; retained this charge till 1837. 1807: became treasurer of the Scottish Episcopal Friendly Society. 6 October, 1808: elected bishop of Dunkeld. 1841: became pro-primus on the death of Bishop James Walker. In a synod held at Edinburgh, September, 1844, it was decided to revive the episcopal title of St. Andrews. Torry was thenceforth known as bishop of the united dioceses of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane. 1850: published his Prayer Book, which was highly opposed and censured by the Scottish Episcopal synod. A staunch champion of the Scottish Holy Communion office.

30,000) we feel ourselves compelled to express our dissent from the Majority of our Colleagues on the score of his non-election—But, as in all our episcopal acts we are bound by the deed of the Majority, and four out of six of our little College, have signified their approbation of the measure, the Consecration is D. V. to take place at Stirling, the residence of our present Primus Bp. Gleig; on Sunday next the 20th inst⁴ On which occasion, notwithstanding my qualified dissent I should have gladly given my presence, had it been at all compatible with my pastoral duties to leave my flock at this solemn season—They will however have my ardent prayers, that a measure so purely intended for the benefit of our fellow Xtians on the Continent of Europe, may be mercifully crowned with the divine blessing, & realise the fullest anticipations of its zealous & pious promoters—

Since I began this letter I have been favoured with a copy of the Minutes of the last Convention in the State of Ohio, which completely bear me out in my sanguine hopes of no future dissension being likely to occur on the subject of their projected theological Seminary, which by Articles VI. VII. & VIII.⁸ of its Constitution seems to me to be placed completely under the control & direction of your Bishops, & of the general Convention of your Church—and thus the best possible refutation is given to the forebodings of division in your Church, which have been by several entertained on this side of the Atlantic. In Bishop Chase's Address to the Convention, too, I observe he notices his providential introduction to good Mr Bowdler, as he characterises it, to have arisen from a communication of yours to the Scottish Bishops.⁹ Of course this must apply to the notice, which you may recollect, you took of Bishop

⁸The text of the articles of the constitution of "The Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ohio," as referred to by Bishop Skinner, and as given in the *Journal* of the diocesan convention, 1824, was as follows:

"ART. VI. The board of Trustees shall have power to constitute professorships, and to appoint and remove the professors, and to prescribe the course of study, and to make all rules, regulations and statutes which may be necessary for the government of the Seminary, and to secure its prosperity: provided, that all such rules, regulations, statutes, or other proceedings, shall for ever be in conformity 'to the doctrine, discipline, constitution and canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and to the course of study prescribed, or to be prescribed, by the Bishops of the said Church.'

"ART. VII. If at any time the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America shall, by resolution, entered in their Journals, declare any rule, regulation, statute or other proceeding of the board of Trustees hereby constituted, to be contrary to the doctrine, discipline, constitution, and canons of the Church, or to the course of study prescribed by the Bishops, such rule, regulation, statute, or other proceeding, shall thenceforth cease to have effect, and shall be considered as abrogated and annulled.

"ART. VIII. The Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, shall individually, and any two or more of them, be visitants of the Seminary, to take care that the course of discipline and instruction be conformable to the preceding provisions. And it shall be lawful for any one of the Bishops aforesaid, at any time, to institute in his own name and character of Bishop, any proper legal process to enforce and secure the administration of the Seminary according to the foundation herein prescribed."

⁹See above, last part of Footnote 5.

Chase & his arduous & ill requited labours in a most interesting letter to myself; with which I was so forcibly struck, that I could not help quoting the interesting detail in a letter to my lamented friend, to whom such communications were, I knew, peculiarly agreeable—and I am persuaded you will rejoice with me, that a circumstance so purely unintentional either on your part or mine, was productive of so much good.—

With respect to my own little household I am happy to say we have continued to enjoy the invaluable blessing of almost uninterrupted good health, and have the utmost cause of thankfulness for this & many undeserved blessings—And I fondly pray that such may have been the lot of you & all yours—I need not to repeat, I hope, the assurance of unalterable esteem & regard, which I feel towards you personally, & to the Church of which you are so worthy & zealous a minister—or again express to you the anxiety which I feel to hear of your welfare, and of the continued prosperity of your interesting portion of our common vineyard—Do write soon, and gratify with good accounts, both domestic & ecclesiastical, my dear Dr Jarvis,

Your ever faithful & afft^e Brother in Xt,
W Skinner

Dr S. F. Jarvis
&c. &c. &c.

(ADDRESSED) To
The Rev^d Dr Jarvis—
&c. &c. &c.
Boston
Massachusetts
U. S.—

(ENDORSED) Bp. Skinner
March 10. 1825.—
Rec^d June 2. 1825.—
Rec^d June 2. 1825.

6. LETTER OF BISHOP WILLIAM SKINNER TO DOCTOR JARVIS,
26 JUNE, 1826

Aberdeen 26th June 1826.

Rev^d and dear Sir,

I know not by what conveyance your last kind & interesting letter reached England, but it came not to my hands until the beginning of this month—a circumstance which I deeply regretted, as it totally precluded a compliance with your request of writing to you, before you should quit the American Shores—and had I not been recently favoured with a letter from our worthy friend Mr Bowdler, intimating to me your wish that I should have a letter waiting you at Havre, I should have been much puzzled how to find you out, & could only have addressed a letter for you to Bishop Luscombes care at Paris, in the hope of your making yourself known to him immediately on your arrival, in that city. Now however I am enabled, by Mr Bowdlers means, to send you inclosed

a letter of introduction to Bishop Luscombe, if one personally unknown to either party may be allowed to act the part of an introducer; and I greatly mistake that gentleman's character, if he be not ready to receive you as a brother, & to afford you all the necessary counsel & advice in regard to your future plans for the education & residence of your family, which his long and familiar acquaintance with France & French men & manners will render him so well qualified to afford—But it may happen, that at the season of your reaching the French Metropolis, Bp Luscombe may chance to be absent on some of his official duties—in which case, & should M^{rs} Luscombe & family have accompanied him, you will be most likely I should think to gain information of the Bishop & his motions, by making enquiry after him, at the Hotel of the British Ambassador Lord Granville.¹ I have myself never been out of Britain, & am fully as much a Stranger to Continental manners, & the most economical mode of establishing a residence in any part of France, as you yourself can possibly be: I dare not therefore pretend to offer an advise as to the propriety or advantages of a French Education, & can only refer you for information on Such topics to good Bp. Luscombe.—You may believe I received with much surprise as well as sincere regret the account of the causes that have led you for a time to quit your native land, & I can readily conceive the feelings which must agitate both you and M^{rs} Jarvis on bidding adieu to friends & relatives equally dear as your own family—But the treatment, which from your printed account² you re-

NOTES TO LETTER 6

¹Lord Granville Leveson-Gower, 1st Earl Granville (12 October, 1773-8 January, 1846). Created Viscount Granville of Stone Park, County Stafford, 12 August, 1815. Baron Leveson of Stone, County Stafford, and Earl Granville, 10 May, 1822. Married, 24 December, 1809, Henrietta Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of William, fifth duke of Devonshire, K. G. 1804: ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Russia. Ambassador to Court of France.

²St. Paul's Church, Boston, had been founded in 1820 by a number of prominent Bostonians, who were admirers of Dr. Jarvis, for the express purpose of securing him as their rector. He resigned his professorship in the General Theological Seminary, which he had held little more than a year, to accept the position. But a situation which was so flattering in its beginnings, ended in bitterness. Dr. Jarvis did not measure up to the expectations of his parishioners, and their loyalty was not what he thought it should be. By 1825 the differences had become so violent that the proprietors of the parish, acting through the vestry, formally requested the bishop for a dissolution of the pastoral relationship. In accordance with the canon, Bishop Griswold called a council of presbyters to investigate and render a verdict. The council ordered a dissolution of the pastoral connection, but with the payment of \$5,000 to Jarvis, together with a testimonial from the council that he was "a clergyman in good standing and entitled to the confidence of any parish that might wish his services." Not content with this verdict,

"He engaged in the preparation of a heavy pamphlet, in which he embodied (*sic*) his own views of the whole case; and which, instead of *publishing*, he privately printed and distributed not only among his friends in Boston, but elsewhere throughout the Church. In this pamphlet, he charged the Bishop with an unwarrantable stretch of power, or Episcopal prerogative, and cast a heavy load of odium upon the parish, from which he had been separated." [John S. Stone, *Memoir of the Life of the Rt. Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold*, D. D. (Philadelphia, 1844), p. 323.]

Apparently, Dr. Jarvis sent a copy of this unfortunate pamphlet to Bishop Skinner.

ceived & were likely to receive, had you remained longer among your Bostonian parishioners, seems to have been such, as could not fail to render a separation from them at least much less painful than it must necessarily have been under any other circumstances. And violent as some of them seem to have been, I should hope that long before now they have seen cause to repent sincerely of their conduct, & to have made some reparation to their ill used pastor & quondam friend—I hope I need not to assure you, that much as I regret their treatment of you, & sincerely as I sympathise in your sufferings, yet I cannot help rejoicing in the prospect, which this unlooked for occurrence presents, of our becoming personally known to each other, as I will hope you will never think of recrossing the Atlantic, until you shall have explored the nakedness of *our* land & visited your brethren in *Scotland*. To one of your sound & orthodox principles, the remains of Episcopacy in Scotland will form no uninteresting object of examination; and I will indulge the hope, that, when you shall have got your family established in some permanent residence in France (if you shall eventually take up your abode in that country, I may look for the pleasure of introducing you to my wife & daughter, & enjoy your company in Aberdeen for a little time.—I would not have written to you at so early a date as I am aware my letter must lie at the post office in Havre for some time before you can possibly arrive, if you only quit New York on the 1st of July, had I not been to set out on my triennial visitation of my diocese tomorrow morning, which will necessarily occupy all my time & attention until the 22^d of July, when I return home; & about that time or soon after I may hope to hear from you of your arrival, & that neither you, Mr^s Jarvis, nor your dear little ones, have experienced any injury from the voyage; which may an all protecting providence enable you to accomplish in safety & comfort, devoutly prays, my dear Sir,

Your very faithful friend & brother

W. Skinner

Rev^d Dr Jarvis
&c. &c. &c.

(ADDRESSED) To
The Rev^d Dr Samuel F. Jarvis
&c. &c. &c.
from Boston Massachusetts U. S.
Havre de Grace.
Poste restante—

(ENDORSED) Right Reverend Dr Skinner
Dated Aberdeen 26th June 1826.—
Rece'd Paris—Aug^t 25th 1826—
Ans^d Octob. 16 by Mr^r Luscombe.

In 1826 Jarvis embarked for Europe, where he spent the next nine years, six of them in Italy. "He visited all the most important libraries in Europe, and explored every accessible source of information on the subjects to which his attention was specially directed" [Sprague, *op. cit.*, V. 531.]

7. LETTER OF BISHOP WILLIAM SKINNER TO DOCTOR JARVIS,
19 JANUARY, 1827Aberdeen 19th Jan^y 1827.—Rev^d & dear Sir,

Of all things I dislike Apologies for remissness & procrastination in letter writing; yet on the present occasion I do not see how I can possibly commence a letter to you, without acknowledging how neglectful I have been in not sooner replying to your kind & very interesting letter of the 16th Oct^r—Soon after its arrival indeed I was more than ordinarily occupied by the death of an old & intimate friend, the Dean of this Diocese, & the duties of the Xmas festival slipped upon me ere I was well aware: but I trust you will not impute my delay to any diminution of friendly regard & esteem, for in so doing you would greatly wrong me.—I had become very anxious to hear of your arrival in France, before your letter reached me: & was much gratified by being assured of your welfare, by a Gentleman who had seen M^{rs} Jarvis & you all well at Paris, the Rev^d Dr Strachan¹ of York Upper Canada, who officiated in my chapel on the 15th Oct^r which pleasant tidings were not many days after confirmed under your own hand—Your accounts of the State of protestant Episcopacy in Paris, or rather perhaps of *Church of Englandism*, correspond exactly with all that I was led to anticipate from other quarters: & I cannot but regret the uncomfortable situation in which good Bp. Luscombe must inevitably be placed, & the very trifling exercise of episcopal authority or even superintendence, which is allowed to him. And no small degree of meekness & patience is requisite to success in his laudable Efforts—From previous knowledge & long experience of the characters with whom he has to come in contact, he must have been fully aware of the nature of his undertaking, & would not therefore be too sanguine of the immediate attainment of his wishes—And howsoever desirable it might be to every true churchman to have a regular & well constituted Episcopacy established (I mean ecclesiastically, not legally) on the Continent of Europe, & especially among the British Subjects in France, yet from all that I have heard of him I feel disposed to place such implicit confidence in Bp. Luscombe's prudence & discretion, that I should hesitate in recommending any line of conduct to one, whose local knowledge & experience render him so fully competent to decide what is best to be done. Placed as Bp. L. is in a country so peculiarly circumstanced as France is, with respect both to religion &

NOTES TO LETTER 7

¹JOHN STRACHAN (born, 1778, in Aberdeen; died, November 1, 1867). He was reared a Presbyterian and educated at St. Andrews' University. Migrated to Canada, and ordained deacon, 1803, by the bishop of Quebec, and priest, 1804. S. P. G. missionary. Served: Cornwall, 1803-1811; "York" (afterwards "Toronto"), 1812-1834; archdeacon of York, 1827. Consecrated first bishop of Toronto, August 4, 1839, in Lambeth Palace Chapel. He was noted for "great energy and firmness of purpose. . . . Probably no one of all our colonial bishops has gone through more laborious journeyings, or has endured more hardness," and to him it was given "to build up a well-organized and living Church." [S. P. G. minute, December, 1867; C. F. Pascoe, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-161, 163-164, 169-172, 231, 763, 878.]

government, I confess, timidity seems to me a much preferable qualification to a rash misguided Zeal: and I heartily approve of the Bishops plan of first obtaining a Church, where he may exercise uncontrolled his ecclesiastical privileges, & shew the Superior excellence of proper episcopal worship; which will gradually lead the way, by the introduction & inculcation of sound church principles, to the formation of a regular Diocese, & in Gods good time to the organization of a pure & perfect branch of Xts holy Catholic & Apostolic Church—From the general description of our British residents in France however, whither they resort to nurse their exhausted fortunes, I fear the Bishop may experience no small difficulty in the accomplishment of his prior object, nor can he reasonably hope for much assistance towards it at home. Such men as you describe Mr Way² to be are generally more successful in raising the needful than those of sounder & purer principles, & their followers have greatly more zeal than soberminded Churchmen. With all their professed disregard of the world, & heavenly mindedness, they contrive always to get access to the most wealthy people, & generally engage their purses for the accomplishment of their views, if not for their personal profit—and they seem to experience no want of friends for any of their undertakings. And hence, I believe, the rapidity with which that visionary Sort of religion is gaining ground in all parts of the world.—

I will hope to hear, that, after having had now nearly six months experience of a residence in France, you have found your expectations, in other respects than religion, realised, & been able to procure suitable education for your young people; as well as an access of health & strength to your self & Mr^s Jarvis—In respect of weather, we have not had in these northern regions a more uncomfortable & trying winter for several years—it has been so exceedingly variable & tempestuous, with constant alternations of frost & thaw, snow & rain. Nor has it, I fear, proved much more steady with you—Paris has always been represented to me as exceedingly cold in winter, while you look in vain for the comforts of our British or American firesides—We are all here in deep & sincere mourning for our excellent Commander in Chief the Duke of York,³ whose death has cast a gloom over the whole nation, that has completely eclipsed for a time the interest felt for the result of the

²LEWIS WAY (11 February, 1772-26 January, 1840). M. A., Merton College, Oxford. 1797: called to the bar by the Society of the Inner Temple. Entered the Church. Devoted to religious works part of a large legacy left him. Founded the Marboeuf (English Protestant) Chapel in Paris. Active in schemes for the conversion of the Jews.

³FREDERICK AUGUSTUS, duke of York and Albany, K. G. (Born: St. James' Palace, 16 August, 1763; died at the duke of Rutland's house in Arlington street, 5 January, 1827). 27 February, 1764: elected bishop of Osnaburg, through the influence of his father as elector of Hanover. Second son of King George the Third. 1767: Knight of the Bath. 1771: Knight of the Garter. 1780: became colonel in the Army. Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces. 29 September, 1791: married Frederica Charlotte Ulrica Catherine, princess royal of Prussia, daughter of Frederick William the Second, King of Prussia. (She died, 6 August, 1820.) Had great influence in the history of the British Army. Looked well after the soldiers and their comforts; very successful with the officers; sternly put down the influence of personal favoritism.

threatened warlike attitude of Spain & Portugal. Mr Canning⁴ carried with him the unanimous sense of the country in his admirable exposé of our political relations: & great as is our need of the continuance of peace, we are not afraid of war.—

Let me have the pleasure of soon hearing, how your family has born an European Winter & in what way you intend disposing of them & of yourself, when its rigours are at an end, & the Spring admits of your migrating. Do not, I pray, leave Scotland out of your plans, & cheat us of a visit, as our friend Bp. Hobart did; the sooner, the more welcome will it be—Pray, remember me kindly to Bp. Luscombe, and with hearty good wishes for many years of happiness to yourself, M^{rs} Jarvis & family believe me ever to remain, my dear & Rev^d Sir, very truly & faithfully
y^{rs}

W Skinner

(ADDRESSED) A

Mons. Mon^{sr}
Le Dr S. F. Jarvis
chez Mess^{rs} Wells & Co Banquiers
Rue Tailbout N^o 24
a Paris.—

(ENDORSED) R^t Rev. Bishop Skinner

Dated Aberdeen Jan. 19, 1827.—

Reced Paris Jan. 25. 1827

Ans^d Paris July 9, 1827—

8. LETTER OF BISHOP WILLIAM SKINNER TO DOCTOR JARVIS,
15 DECEMBER, 1827

Aberdeen 15th Dec^r 1827.—

Rev^d & dear Sir,

More than five months have unaccountably elapsed from the date of your last most acceptable & interesting letter to me; but in self defence I must be permitted to state several alleviating circumstances by way of apology for this delay. In the first place the packet did not reach me till the beginning of Sept^r & it was not till near the beginning of Nov^r when our Colleges commence their winter Session that I obtained a decisive answer to your application for a Doctors degree to your friend Mr Eaton.¹ Since then I have been very anxious to apprise you

⁴GEORGE CANNING (11 April, 1770-8 August, 1827). Statesman. Son of a barrister. Educated at Eton, and Christ Church, Oxford (1788-1791). Entered Lincoln's Inn, 1791. Member of Parliament from Newport, 1794, and from Wendover, 1797. Had a considerable political career and foreign influence. Influential in promoting the "Monroe Doctrine" by the United States.

NOTES TO LETTER 8

¹ASA EATON (July 25, 1778-March 24, 1858) was born in Plaistow, New Hampshire, of Congregational parents. Graduated at Harvard College, 1803, and shortly after became a lay reader in Christ Church (the "Old North Church" of Paul Revere fame), Boston, meanwhile pursuing his theological studies. When he was ready for ordination, Massachusetts had no bishop, and had none from

of the result, but unfortunately knew not where to find you, nor how to address a letter for you; as you had mentioned your intention of passing the winter at Florence or somewhere else in Italy. I had inquired both of Miss Macfarlane & Bp. Low² for your address; & the latter had advised me to put my letter under cover to Bp. Luscombe who would forward it. But having two days ago received a letter from my friend & correspondent M^r Hargreave of Southampton Build^{gs} London, mentioning how highly gratified he had been by meeting you to breakfast at M^r G. W. Marriotts, I think there may yet be a chance of my catching you in London before you return to Paris; but sh^d your visit have been very short, & you have set out before this can reach, I have directed it to be forwarded to the care of Bp. Luscombe; but would request that, when you again favour me with a letter you will have the kindness to inform me how I am to address for you my reply—My application for the desired Degree was made to Marischal College & University in this city, my own Alma Mater previously to my completing my Studies at Oxford; & it was received most courteously & very favourably by the Principal & Professors, all that they require being a well authenticated assurance of the respectability of character & literary talents of the applicants with a College Certificate of his having previously been admitted to a M. A. Degree—all which Documents are required by their regulations to be attested & countersigned by two, either D. Ds or LL. Ds of their own University or of Oxford, Cambridge or Dublin—and with this latter requisition Bishop Low & myself will be most happy to comply, & shew our friendship for you, & readiness to confirm by our signatures your attestations. The only expense attending it is a payment of Sixteen pounds Sterl^s towards the funds of the College Library & Museum—

1804 until 1811. Accordingly, he was ordered deacon, July 31, 1805, by Bishop Benjamin Moore, of New York, and priest shortly after. He was rector of Christ Church, Boston, from 1805 to 1829. In 1815 he established the first Sunday School in that city—an institution originally founded to give underprivileged children the rudiments of an education, especially enough to read the Bible and the Prayer Book, before public schools existed. In the next eight years, upwards of 1,000 children were admitted to it. A vocal affliction led Eaton to resign his rectorship in 1829. He began the Free Church City Mission with success, and continued with it until he accepted the chaplaincy of St. Mary's Hall, Burlington, New Jersey—a pioneer adventure of Bishop George Washington Doane in the higher education of women—and remained there until 1842. The remainder of his years he lived in Boston in comparative retirement. In 1828 he published his *History of Christ Church, Boston*. In the same year Columbia College, New York, conferred upon him the degree of doctor of divinity. This probably explains why he did not take advantage of the offer from Marischal College, Aberdeen. [See *Sprague*, V, 699n.]

²DAVID LOW. (Born: Brechin, Forfarshire, November, 1768; died: Pittenweem, 26 January, 1855). Educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen. Schoolmaster at Menmuir, Forfarshire. Read theology under George Gleig, then minister at Stirling and afterwards bishop. 1787: ordained. Took charge of a small non-juring congregation at Perth. 1789: Minister at Pittenweem, Fifeshire. 14 November, 1819: consecrated bishop of the united dioceses of Ross, Argyll, and the Isles. April, 1820: LL. D. from Aberdeen. Active in promoting the interests of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Bestowed two-thirds of his income on the Church. 1831: chiefly through his influence the Gaelic Episcopal Society was founded. Took an important part in the movement for repeal of penal laws against Scottish Episcopalians. 1838: Diocese of Moray added to his jurisdiction. 1847: effected the separation of Argyll and the Isles from Ross and Moray; and endowed the new see with 8,000 pounds. August, 1848: D. D. from Hartford College, Connecticut, and the College in Geneva, New York.

& you may either have your friend made L. L. D. or D. D. as you may incline, as no objection is made by our presbyterian College to give a Divinity Degree to an Episcopalian; and the Gentlemen seemed not a little pleased, & considered it even a powerful recommendation in his favour, when I stated to them the reasons mentioned by you for Mr Eatons declining to proceed to a higher degree at Harvard University—The application, however, if you shall determine finally on making it will probably be conducted with greater facility, & the requisite documents be more easily procured & presented, by yourself personally on the spot, when you shall gratify Mrs Skinner & me with your long promised visit to Aberdeen, and I hope you will not now suffer many months to elapse, before you carry this into execution—You have already seen how easily a visit to London is accomplished, & will I hope have seen & heard enough in that Metropolis during your present short stay to excite a wish to repeat it at no distant date; and once our wintry storms were over, & the Sea less boisterous, you would find a voyage to Aberdeen, whether by steam or otherwise a very easy matter both to purse & person.

If Bp. Luscombes only hope of obtaining an appropriate edifice as a Chapel be dependent on the generosity of our Government, I fear he need not be very sanguine, & may be prepared to meet with similar disappointments to what his Brethren in Scotland have been destined to suffer; & from which not even the English Establishment is itself exempted.—The ideas of our political men are wholly engrossed with the administration of worldly matters, & not a single thought is given by them to spiritual concerns. It is most gratifying to hear from all quarters of the meekness & prudence with which good Bp. Luscombe conducts matters, & of the surprising success with which, tho' unpatronised & unprotected, his endeavours have hitherto been crowned. I rec^d from Mr Hargreave & the Xtn Remembrancer your interesting detail of what lately occurred at Meaux, & in common with my friend H. I look forward with intense anxiety to the results of the Bishops projected visit to the interesting Vaudois—Of Bishop Onderdonk's³ appointment as Coadjutor to venerable Bp. White I had before heard; & within this week or two have been much distressed by reading an account of the melancholy death of my townsman Bp Kemp⁴ of Maryland.

³HENRY USTICK ONDERDONK. (Born: New York City, 16 March, 1789; died: 6 December, 1858.) Graduated, Columbia College, 1805. Studied medicine at London and Edinburgh. M. D., University of Edinburgh. Practiced medicine. 1814-1815: associate editor of the New York Medical Magazine. Studied for Holy Orders under the direction of Bishop Hobart. 8 December, 1815: deacon. 11 April, 1816: priest. For four years missionary at Canandaigua, New York, then on the western frontier of the state. 1820: elected rector of St. Ann's, Brooklyn. 25 October, 1827: consecrated bishop at Christ Church, Philadelphia. Associated with Bishop White. 1836: Bishop of Pennsylvania, on the death of Bishop White. 1844: resigned because of his addiction to alcohol. His conduct was so exemplary afterwards and his good qualities so impressive, that he was restored to active ministry by the House of Bishops in 1856. Regarded as an outstanding theologian and scholar.

⁴JAMES KEMP. (Born in the parish of Keith Hall, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, 20 May, 1764; died: Newcastle, Delaware, 28 October, 1827.) Came to America

Who is to be his successor?²⁵ In the midst of these transatlantic changes I almost regret your being in Europe, as the eyes of your Brethren in America might have been more readily turned to you, had you been on the Spot—and it is exceedingly important no less in that country than in Britain that the Episcopate should consist of men of sound & orthodox religious principle, attached to the Church & not altogether unacquainted with the world.—I will hope to hear again from you soon; & that you found Mrs Jarvis & your family all in excellent health on your return. May she, you & they, partake in all the blessings both spiritual & temporal of the approaching happy season most fervently & cordially prays, My dear Sir, your aff^{te} friend & faithful brother

W Skinner

(ADDRESSED) To
The Rev^d Dr S. F. Jarvis
&c. &c. &c.
G. W. Marriotts Esq^r &c. &c.
Queensquare
London.
if gone, to be forwarded to Paris

(ENDORSED) The Right Rev^d Bishop Skinner.
Dated Aberdeen Dec. 15. 1827.
Rece'd London Dec. 22, 1827
Ans^d from Florence, Nov. 12, 1828.
Rec. Dec. 22. 1827.

in 1786, having graduated at Marischal College. 26 December, 1789: deacon. 27 December, 1789: priest. 1802: rector of Great Choptank, Maryland. 1802: D. D., Columbia. 1813: associate rector of St. Paul's, Baltimore. 1 September, 1814: consecrated bishop. Succeeded to the Maryland episcopate on the death of Bishop Claggett, first bishop of Maryland, 1816. "By his tact and moderation he was able to heal the schism in his diocese. His episcopate was a critical period in the dioceses of Maryland. The Church had greatly declined before the Revolution and had as yet made little headway. It was due to Bishop Kemp that the diocese shared in the general revival which had begun in New York under Bishop Hobart and in Virginia under Bishop Moore." [Joseph Cullen Ayer, in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. X, p. 318.]

²⁵Bishop Kemp was succeeded in the diocese of Maryland by WILLIAM MURRAY STONE, who was born in Somerset County, Maryland, 1 June, 1779; consecrated bishop, 21 October, 1830; died, 26 February, 1838.

HERBERT BEAVER (1800-1858)
FIRST ANGLICAN CLERGYMAN WEST OF THE
ROCKY MOUNTAINS

*By Thomas E. Jessell**

Herbert Beaver, "Chaplain to the Settlements of the Hudson's Bay Company, on the River Columbia, north-west coast of America,"¹ as he termed himself; or "chaplain and missionary for the education and religious instruction of the Indians,"² as the company called him, spent a lifetime pioneering for the Church in far-flung places.

EARLY YEARS

Son of the Rev. Herbert John Beaver and Katharine, his wife, he was born some time in the spring of 1800, while his father was the curate of St. Peter's, Surrey. He was baptized on July 7, 1800. He received his B. A. degree from Queen's College, Oxford, in 1821. He was made a deacon by Bishop Pelham, of Lincoln, on September 22, 1822, and ordained priest a year less a day later. He was immediately licensed to the curacy of Kirkby Mallory, then in the diocese of Lincoln, where he remained until early in 1825.³

Beaver's first pioneering effort was at St. Lucia, British West Indies, where he was both garrison chaplain and rector of Castries. Always meticulous about records, he started the registers for the Church in St. Lucia, being the first clergyman of the Church of England to reside there. His first entry was dated May 17, 1825, and his last on July 27, 1833.⁴

His propensity to quarrels is noted in an entry in the marriage register at Castries by the Rev. Henry George Hall, who seems to have

*The author is rector of Trinity Church, Everett, Washington, and historiographer of the Diocese of Olympia.—*Editor's note.*

¹In a letter to the editor of the *Church of England Protestant Magazine*, printed in the issue of March, 1841, and reprinted under the title, "Experiences of a Chaplain at Fort Vancouver, 1836-1838," ed. R. C. Clark, in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (March, 1938), p. 22.

²R. C. Clark, "Reverend Herbert Beaver," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (March, 1938), p. 66.

³G. H. Slater, "New Light on Herbert Beaver," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (January, 1942), pp. 17, 18.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 18.

been appointed rector of the civil parish while Mr. Beaver was still the military chaplain. Below the record of a marriage which took place in Castries on May 21, 1833, is the following note: "I hereby certify that the above is a true correct copy of a register made by me on the day of the marriage: I being prevented from entering it into the proper book, from Mr. Beaver, the late minister keeping violent possession of the same, and refusing to give it to me." This entry is signed "Henry George Hall," and lists three witnesses to the ceremony, one of whom was Herbert Beaver.⁵

It must have been late in 1833 that he returned to England. What he did the next two years is not known, but on January 12, 1836, he was licensed by the bishop of Chichester to the curacy of Up Waltham, in Sussex. It is unlikely that he ever accepted this position, as his signature does not appear in the registers there, and a month later he was ready to sail for the northwest coast of America.⁶

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

For some years the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company in London had been interested in the religious and moral welfare of its employees and of the natives in the territories where the company operated. In 1820 a very successful mission to the Indians of the Red River Settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company had been started by the Rev. John West, a Church of England chaplain in the Company's employ, and by 1835 was in flourishing condition.⁷ However, the appointment of a chaplain to serve west of the Rocky Mountains seems to have been delayed by George Simpson, governor of the far-flung Northern Department. In 1825, he wrote, it would be well to

"place the Clergyman in a certain degree under the protection of the Coy's representative (say the Chief Factor in charge of the District) and direct him to look up to that Gentleman for support and assistance in almost everything as a superior; on the contrary if he attempts to dictate or act independently of, or in opposition to the views and wishes of that Gentleman it is to be feared they will not draw together. The Missionary ought to be cool and temperate in his habits and of a Mild conciliatory disposition even tempered and not too much disposed to find fault severely with any little laxity of Morals he may discover in the Coy's Establishment otherwise 'tis to be feared he would find his situation uncomfortable and it might

⁵G. H. Slater, "New Light on Herbert Beaver," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (January, 1942), p. 18.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁷For a description of this work, see S. Fuller, "Bishop Mountain's Visit to the Red River Settlement," in *The Spirit of Missions*, December, 1844, pp. 485-489.

even interfere with the objects of his Mission; he ought to understand in the onset that nearly all the Gentlemen & Servants have Families altho' Marriage ceremonies are unknown in the Country and that it would be all in vain to attempt breaking this uncivilized custom. On no other score would he have serious grounds of complaint as the conduct of our people in general is perfectly decorous & proper when well managed."⁸

In 1830 the governor and committee informed Simpson that it was their intention to send a missionary west of the Rocky Mountains. No appointment was made until the arrival of the American missionaries on the Columbia in 1834 spurred the Company to action. The first two clergymen offered the post declined, it is said, because their wives refused to face the long sea voyage around Cape Horn.⁹

APPOINTMENT TO FORT VANCOUVER

It was while on a visit to England in 1835-36 that Governor Simpson personally selected the Rev. Herbert Beaver for the position of "chaplain and missionary for the education and religious instruction of the Indians" at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River. Herbert Beaver and his wife, Jane (the date of their marriage is not known), were living at Graffham near Petworth, Sussex, at the time. As an inducement Beaver was offered an annual salary of £200 for a term of five years, to be increased an additional £50 at the end of that period.¹⁰ In addition, he and Mrs. Beaver were to be given a house, provisions, fire, candles and a male servant. Their passage out and back was to be at the Company's expense. No doubt Simpson congratulated himself upon securing an educated clergyman in his middle thirties with colonial experience for the new position. As Peter Skene Ogden later remarked, he had "a very appropriate name for the fur trade."

The Beavers sailed from London on February 13, 1836, in the Company's vessel *Nereide*. He had hoped to go the overland route through Canada, but instead underwent a voyage of seven months. During the voyage Beaver held divine service "every Sunday, except four, when from various circumstances it could not take place; and on one of these occasions our men attended me at Mr. Diell's Chapel, where I performed for the first time in the Sandwich Islands, the full Morning Service of the Church of England."¹¹ The *Nereide* reached Fort Vancouver on September 16, 1836.

⁸G. H. Slater, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 16.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁰R. C. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

¹¹"Mr. Beaver Objects," *The Beaver*, Outfit 272, September, 1941, p. 10.

Fort Vancouver at the time of Beaver's arrival was the capital, as it were, of the Oregon country and the most important community on the Pacific Coast. It had a population varying from four to seven hundred, according to the absence or presence of the fur brigades and trading vessels. The fort was a parallelogram about 250 yards long and 150 yards wide, enclosed by a wall of upright beams 20 feet high. Inside the fort were some thirty wooden buildings, including offices, apartments for the gentlemen and clerks, warehouses, a bakery and a school-house. The governor's house stood at the center.¹²

Dr. John McLoughlin, and his principal associate, James Douglas, had wives who were half Indian, as did many of the gentlemen in the employ of the Company. White women were not encouraged to live at these frontier posts. These part Indian women dressed in English clothing with the exception that they generally wore gaiters ornamented with beads. Frequently they spoke both French and English. Full-blooded Indian women married to the company's servants retained more of the native dress.

On the banks of the river, below the fort, was a village of some sixty houses where the mechanics and other servants of the company lived with their families. A hospital was maintained by the Company in the village.

The Company had a fleet of six or seven vessels for trade up and down the coast, with the Hawaiian Islands and with England. One of these, the *Beaver*, was equipped with steam. When several of these ships were in the harbor at the same time, it must have presented quite an impressive sight. At the time of her arrival, Mrs. Marcus Whitman wrote in her diary: "We are now in Vancouver, the New York of the Pacific Ocean." There were two ships in the harbor and she had never seen even one before, so her enthusiasm can be excused. The population of New York at this time was 300,000.

Dr. John McLoughlin, the chief factor in charge, was 52 years old, six feet four inches tall, and with a head of long, almost white, hair, which caused the Indians to name him White-Headed Eagle. His authority was unchallenged throughout a wide area, and he was known later as the "uncrowned king of Oregon." In his secret *Book of Servants' Characters*, Governor Simpson thus described him:

"A very bustling active man who can go through a great deal of business but is wanting in system and regularity and has not the talent of managing the few associates and clerks under

¹²For a description of Fort Vancouver, see George W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1941), pp. 118, 119.

his authority: has a good deal of influence with Indians and speaks the *Soulteaux* tolerably well.—Very zealous in the discharge of his public duties and a man of strict honor and integrity but a great stickler for rights & privileges and sets himself up for a righter of wrongs. Very anxious to obtain a lead among his colleagues with whom he has not much influence owing to his ungovernable violent temper and turbulent disposition, and would be a troublesome man to the Company if he had sufficient influence to form and tact to manage a party, in short, would be a Radical in any Country under any Government and under any circumstances; and if he had not pacific people to deal with, would be eternally embroiled in 'affairs of honor' on the merest trifles arising I conceive from the irritability of his temper more than a quarrelsome disposition.—Altogether a disagreeable man to do business with as it is impossible to go with him in all things and a difference of opinion almost amounts to a declaration of hostilities, yet a good hearted man and a pleasant companion."¹³

With both McLoughlin and Beaver being men who insisted upon their rights, it was hardly to be expected that they would get along without friction. And it came very quickly, almost before Beaver had gotten his land legs again after so long a voyage.

The governor and committee in London had determined to equip Beaver adequately. The annual supply ship *Columbia* brought to Fort Vancouver, the May before Beaver's arrival, a church bell, a pulpit, Bibles, Prayer Books, registers, a surplice, an altar cloth and a silver communion service.¹⁴ From this it is evident that the committee expected a church building would be ready for Beaver upon his arrival. However, Dr. John McLoughlin, the chief factor in charge, had not even prepared living quarters for Mr. and Mrs. Beaver, let alone build a church. They were obliged to turn to and assemble furniture for the quarters assigned to them, which were part of a dwelling house. Only a thin partition separated them from the noisy inhabitants of the other rooms, and the men of the fort demanded access to the attic above, which had been reserved for the Company's use, regardless of Mrs. Beaver's convenience.

For Church services the chaplain arranged

"the performance every Sunday, in the Messroom, of a full service at ten o'clock in the morning, which from eighty to a hundred persons attend, and another at three in the evening,

¹³W. Kaye Lamb in Introduction to "The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, Fort Series, 1825-1838," ed. E. E. Rich (Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series, IV, Toronto, 1941), p. c.

¹⁴The communion service, lectern Bible and registers are preserved in the archives of Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria, British Columbia.

when about half those numbers form the congregation. The place of worship is, however, exceedingly inconvenient, not only on account of the interruption arising from the occupancy of part of the same building by several families, who do not attend me, but as it would be impossible to administer in it, with decency, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Neither is it sufficiently large to admit the attendance of all the school children."¹⁵

Although he did get the bell hung to call to worship, Beaver was forced throughout his two-year stay to hold his services in the mess hall. This in spite of the fact that earlier in the year of Beaver's arrival Chief Factor McLoughlin had used considerable pressure to insure the building of a chapel for the retired Roman Catholic servants of the Company living on the Willamette River about 90 miles from Fort Vancouver.¹⁶ It was not until after Beaver's departure that the first Roman Catholic missionaries arrived.

Long before Beaver's coming, it had been McLoughlin's custom to held services on Sundays for the French-Canadians at the fort who were all nominally, at least, Roman Catholics. These services were in French and for them he used a French Bible and a *Penser Y Bien*. Sermons were either translations from English works or original compositions.¹⁷ The chief factor, whose sister was a nun in Quebec,¹⁸ had appealed for Roman Catholic priests without success, and he now continued to hold these services, or to require the carpenter, David Dompier, to do so, at a different hour from those conducted by the chaplain. Beaver, who had a limited command of French, felt that he could make himself understood by the Canadians, and that as chaplain, he, and he alone, should have the say concerning matters of a religious and educational nature. He conceived of the entire Columbia District as his parish, and within its confines felt he should exercise the same rights possessed by a clergyman in a parish in England. He could not view McLoughlin as his superior, and deemed himself answerable only to the governor and committee in London.

A few days after the Beavers set foot in Fort Vancouver, the Marcus Whitman party of American missionaries arrived by the overland route, and Mrs. Whitman attended the two services held by Beaver the Sunday of their arrival, noting in her journal:¹⁹

"Enjoyed the privalege much. The most of the gentlemen of the Fort are Scotch Presbyterian, & but very few are Epis-

¹⁵*The Beaver*, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹⁶*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (March, 1938), pp. 28, 29.

¹⁷W. Kaye Lamb, *op. cit.*, cxviii.

¹⁸*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁹G. H. Slater, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

copalians. The great mass of labourers are Roman Catholics who have three services during the Sabbath, one of which is attended at this house in which Doct McLaughlin officiates in French, translates a sermon or a tract & reads a chapter in the Bible & a prayer. The singing in Mr. Beavers church was done by the children. Some of their tunes were taught them by Mr. Parker.²⁰ Others by Mr. Shepherd²¹ of the Methodist Mission."

Some visiting Methodists found Beaver and his wife, Jane, "highly intellectual people," and described his sermons as "a feast of reason and a flow of soul." Those more critically disposed sneered at him as "a man below the medium height, light brown hair, gray eyes, light complexion, a feminine voice, with large pretentions to oratory, a poor delivery, and no energy."²²

TROUBLES OF A SCHOOLMASTER

A school of sorts had been in operation at Fort Vancouver since 1832, and, when Beaver arrived, McLoughlin turned it over to him. He found it

"consisting of about sixty Scholars, one third being Girls, of various ages, from five to fourteen years, which having been under different teachers for some time past, had lately been placed under the management of Mr. John Fisher Robinson. The first and second Classes, amounting to fourteen, read well, write tolerably, and begin to Cypher, but have received little religious education, the singing of hymns, as I understand, forming nearly the whole. The other Classes are in different Stages of progress. To this school I was in the habit of devoting much daily attention, and Mrs. Beaver received the girls in her own apartment every morning from nine till twelve, except Saturdays and Sundays, the former being a holiday, and on the latter I was accustomed to catechise both sexes together.

" . . . Relative to the instructions to be imparted to the neighbouring Indians, I can of course at present say but little. Their numbers have been of late years much thinned by disease. Their tribes are numerous, much scattered, and Speak different languages. Their is, however, one language, the Chinook, which is partially understood by nearly the whole; but I much fear, were I even to become Master of this language, which would

²⁰Rev. Samuel Parker, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who spent the winter of 1835-36 at Fort Vancouver.

²¹Rev. Cyrus Shepherd, of the pioneer Methodist party under Jason Lee, which arrived on the Columbia in 1834.

²²G. H. Slater, *op. cit.*, p. 22

be of no very difficult task, as far at least as foreigners usually understand it, that it is too defective for the conveyance of Christian ideas. It appears, then, that the good to be done amongst them, must be chiefly, if not wholly, confined to the Children; but even these could not attend a school, for the purpose of learning English, unless they were entirely maintained at our expense, the mode of life of the Parents being too Migratory and erratic to permit the constant attendance of a Stationary Clergyman."²³

When he turned the school over to Beaver, Dr. McLoughlin had given to him "a strict injunction . . . not to interfere with the religious instruction of the Roman Catholic children. I therefore desired the schoolmaster, who was a Protestant, to make out for my guidance in this respect, a list of his scholars, affixing to each name the letter P or C." Concerning this situation, Beaver reported:

"On inspecting this list I discovered the C's vastly to predominate, in fact, attached, with but few exceptions, to the names of all the children, who were not too young to derive much benefit from the services of a clergyman; and seeing that mine, if this state of things were allowed to continue, were well nigh useless in the school, I set myself to analyze the pretensions of each child to be educated as a Protestant, or as a Roman Catholic; when, I found that there were only three or four, who could with the least shadow of propriety be classed as the latter. The others, to whose names the Catholic mark had been affixed, were to be brought up in that faith for the most frivolous reasons; such as, because the father, who was dead, or had deserted his offspring, had professed it, though the child was maintained by the company; or because the mother of the child, in the absence of the father, from one of those causes, or from some other, was living with a Roman Catholic; or because the child had relations in Canada, upon whom it had no claim, and who were probably ignorant of its very existence. The mothers of these children were INDIAN, and of course, from their ignorance of both forms of religion, not to be consulted as to either. Neither they nor the children had any bias in favor of either, if I except some of the more advanced of the latter, who decidedly expressed a preference for the *English Prayers*, as they termed my services. The fathers, although Roman Catholic themselves, made, with a single exception, and that from sinister influence, no objection to my giving them religious instruction, which, of all kinds, was at the lowest possible ebb of defectiveness in the school, scarcely any having been communicated, except, if it can be called such, the singing indifferently, and without the under-

²³*The Beaver*, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 11.

standing, a few hymns, and some of them to profane tunes; nor was there a BIBLE in the school. I immediately commenced a course of religious instruction, supplying each child, who could read them, and there were many, with a Bible and Prayer-book. Much pains were taken to decry the value of these new books, both then, and during the whole of my residence among them.

But my superintendence of the school was of brief duration. In about a week after it had been conferred upon me, I was formally relieved from the charge of it in an official letter by Chief Factor McLoughlin, who seemed totally to overlook the right inherent in my situation of access to my young flock."²⁴

Beaver made his position crystal clear to McLoughlin in a note dated September 30th, when he wrote:

"I was directed by them [the governor and committee] to perform the full duties of a parochial Clergyman, of which attendance upon a public School, over which he has the Sole Charge, forms no small, nor least serviceable portion. Their design in my appointment was, that I should, to the utmost of my power, without forcing the consciences of Men, form a Christian, a Protestant, and a Church of England Congregation, and I am at a loss to conceive how such an object can be accomplished unless I am permitted to make use of the only known Means of renovating a people, who are almost entirely sunk in ignorance and barbarism."²⁵

McLoughlin stated his view of the matter in a letter addressed to the governor and committee under date of November 15, 1836, in which he wrote:

"I am sorry to say there has been a misunderstanding between Mr. Beaver and me. A few days after Mr. Beaver arrived here, the charge of the School as a matter of course was made over to him, fully satisfied in my own mind that whatever improvement might be effected in the subordinate parts of the system, there would be no departure from its former general principles as characterizing an Institution calculated for the promotion of moral and religious knowledge without reference to sectarian tenets, intended to benefit all denominations of Christians by guarding with scrupulous attention against the introduction of all Subjects having a tendency to produce discussion or exasperate prejudice.

"These General principles did not coincide with Mr. Beavers views, he insisted upon the necessity of teaching exclusively the Doctrines of the Church of England and would in

²⁴*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24.

²⁵W. Kaye Lamb, *op. cit.*, p. cxviii.

no other manner take any Interest in its direction or management. Perceiving his Scruples which I could not reasonably oppose and sensible of the impolicy of yielding a point involving results of a most serious nature, I released him from the charge and he withdrew not merely his personal aid but also a few elementary treatises with which he had furnished the School. Persons ignorant of the state of feeling among Catholics who form the majority of the Companys Servants here may think my conduct unnecessarily cautious, but it is quite certain that the slightest departure from this moderate system will defeat the object of the Institution by causing an almost general desertion of the scholars. Coercion is indeed possible, but I do not conceive the object to be of sufficient importance to justify me in pursuing a measure so fraught with danger and clearly at variance with every principle of justice and sound policy."²⁶

Having withdrawn the charge of the school from Beaver, McLoughlin further infuriated the chaplain by inviting Mesdames Whitman and Spalding, who were Congregationalists, to teach. Upon learning of McLoughlin's action, Beaver addressed a letter to the two ladies, under date of October 1, 1836, in which he wrote:

"Mr. Beaver presents his compliments to Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding, and, as he is aware that various customs prevail in different Countries, begs respectfully to inform them, that it is unusual in England for any person to take part, without his permission and request, in the parochial duties of the Minister, in which capacity Mr. Beaver is placed here by the Honble. Hudson's Bay Company.

"He would, therefore, hope that after this explanation, the Ladies, whom he has thus presumed to address, will refrain from teaching, in any respect, the Children of the School at Vancouver, over which he has charge in virtue of his office."²⁷

The ladies showed this letter to Dr. McLoughlin, and he wrote Mr. Beaver demanding an explanation, calling the letter an insult to the Company. This Beaver denied, but stated that he felt inclined to explain only to those under whom he held his appointment. On October 25th Mrs. Whitman wrote in her diary: "Mr. Beaver and Dr. McLoughlin now do not speak to each other and the gentlemen of the Fort have not attended services for several Sabbaths. The difficulty is about the school and the doctrine that should be taught."²⁸

Another point of dispute arose over the allowance of liquor which

²⁶"The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, First Series, 1825-1838," ed. E. E. Rich (Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series, IV, Toronto, 1941), pp. 161-162.

²⁷*The Beaver*, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

Beaver held was insufficient. It had long been his custom, apparently, to serve wine to guests in the evening as well as at dinner, and he had no intention of changing this even for frontier conditions. He was given the same annual allowance as the other gentlemen. Early in October Dr. McLoughlin wrote him: "Permit me to hope that there will be no departure from the established regulations of the place, which provided except at dinner against even the moderate use of Liquor in order to prevent the evils resulting from an irregular or intemperate mode of living. I am induced to offer this remark from two instances of partial inebriety having been observed here and after strict inquiry I have every reason to believe that the liquor was supplied neither from the stores nor the shipping."²⁹

Further complaints, in which Mrs. Beaver joined the chaplain, concerned the incompetent Indian lad assigned to them as a domestic servant, the lack of carpets for the floor, and the poor quality of the cooking. One letter of Jane Beaver's upon the subject of the food has survived:

"Mrs. Beaver having been informed by the cook this Morning that Dr. McLoughlin told him that the Salmon which she returned yesterday as being improperly dressed, was properly dressed, has to remark that if such be the case Dr. McLoughlin's Politeness in so contradicting her is only equalled by her knowledge of the mode of cooking as practiced by civilized beings and to request that as Mr. Beaver and herself have been accustomed to the latter, the cook may be required to obey their orders with reference to the customs of uncivilized countries.

"Mrs. Beaver would not have addressed Dr. McLoughlin so often on this subject but that Mr. Beaver and herself frequently rise from table unsatisfied in the midst of plenty through the badness of the Cooking which is only desired to be plain and clean, at the same time, this can scarcely be expected while the cook is upheld in the contrary habit."³⁰

Feeling that he and his wife were being unnecessarily annoyed and insulted, as well as his ministry being circumscribed, Beaver applied for and received from McLoughlin permission to return to England on the ship bearing the annual returns in November. It was his intention to appeal to the governor and committee in London for authority to carry out his duties as he saw them, and then return to Fort Vancouver.

Shortly before the time for departure a petition was placed in his hands which caused him to change his mind. It read:

²⁹R. C. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

²⁹*The Beaver*, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 13.

"To the Revd. Mr. Beaver

"We the undersigned having been informed that it is your intention to proceed home by the *Columbia*, we beg leave most earnestly to petition you to remain for the sake of us the Protestant community in this place, at least part of them. We beg of you most earnestly to consider the interest of the Church, and whether your present withdrawing yourself would not be fatal to the late revival of religion here under your auspices. Should circumstances however (which we hope will not be the case) forbid Mr. Beaver from granting this request, we hereby beg leave to return him our most sincere thanks for his uniform kindness and benevolent intentions, and likewise hereby state our most unqualified approbation of his conduct during his short stay amongst us."

[Signed by thirty-four Protestants]

"We the undersigned of the Roman Catholic Community hereby testify our full concurrence in the foregoing petition, and moreover we are desirous that the Revd. Mr. Beaver should perform divine service in the French language for our benefit as few of us sufficiently understand the English."⁸¹

[Signed by twenty-four Roman Catholics, and among them David Dompier.]

Circulated secretly, this petition was signed "by all the poor Protestants, and about two-thirds of the Roman Catholics (excepting children of both persuasions), who were, at the time, residing in the immediate vicinity of the Fort."⁸²

The effect of this petition upon the chaplain was such that "Sacrificing, therefore, every minor consideration, I determined to continue at my post, notwithstanding a fear, too truly realized, that I could effect but little good there without the most peremptory orders from Fenchurch Street. I will here remark, once for all, that such orders either never came, or were not acted upon. Of course, my grievances of all descriptions formed the subject of various complaints to headquarters; and I was not surprised when I was obliged to add to the long sum of them the *refusal* of my commanding officer to allow me to comply with the wishes of the French Canadians, by reading to them on the Sabbath-day, a translation of our Liturgy, together with the Scriptures, which I should have been enabled to do by being fortunately in possession of a French Protestant Bible."⁸³

Unfortunately for the Beavers, their chief supporters, Mr. and Mrs. William Capendale, did leave on the *Columbia* that November. He was an expert farmer sent out by the company to take charge of the farm there, and she was the only other white woman to reside at the

⁸¹*The Beaver*, p. 11.

⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁸³*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

Fort besides Mrs. Beaver. Lack of a proper dwelling house was one of the reasons for their leaving.³⁴

CONTINUING QUARRELS WITH THE FACTOR

One would have thought that, having made his decision to stay, Beaver would have endeavored to find some sort of *modus operandi* whereby he and McLoughlin could have managed with a minimum of friction. Neither would give an inch, however, and by January, 1837, even "epistolary intercourse" ceased.³⁵ Upon Jane Beaver and James Douglas fell the burden of conducting such relationships and intercourse as were necessary between the chief factor and the chaplain.

Making Governor Simpson's letter of 1825 strangely prophetic, Beaver now opened up the hottest issue of all when he denounced those who had been married "fur-trade fashion" as "living in sin." Later declared legal by the courts in Quebec, these unions were without the performance of the marriage ceremony and were frequently taken rather lightly. Beaver was willing to overlook the past, but now that he was available he felt that such unions should be put beyond any doubt.

Beaver was particularly desirous that Dr. John McLoughlin and his wife, Marguerite Wadin McKay, set the example. At this time Dr. McLoughlin had a married daughter living in Paris, France,³⁶ and a son who was a storekeeper for the Company and apparently living at Fort Vancouver, both children by a union prior to the present one.³⁷ Mrs. McLoughlin had also been married before, fur-trade fashion, to Alexander McKay, who had deserted her. He had since died, but not before she and Dr. McLoughlin had been married, fur-trade fashion. Under the strict rules of the Church of England, now that McKay was dead and Dr. McLoughlin's first union either illegal or his wife deceased, Beaver could marry them, and he wanted to do this as a means of encouraging others to put their married life on a sure and enduring foundation. Unfortunately, McLoughlin felt himself unable to do this, although he did go through with a civil ceremony, with James Douglas officiating as justice of the peace. Of this action the chaplain was kept in ignorance.³⁸

On February 28, 1837, Beaver had his first weddings when James Douglas and Amelia Connally, who had formed an alliance in 1828, were married first; and then Benjamin McKenzie and Katherine Campbell were also joined in holy matrimony. Except for one a month later,

³⁴"The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver," *op. cit.*, p. 161.

³⁵*The Beaver*, p. 13.

³⁶"The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver," *op. cit.*, p. 219.

³⁷*Ibid.*, Appendix B, p. 350.

³⁸W. Kaye Lamb, *op. cit.*, p. cxix.

it was a year before he had another marriage.³⁹ This was a gala occasion. Maria Eloisa, youngest daughter of Dr. McLoughlin, and chief trader William Glen Rae, were united in holy matrimony in a very proper ceremony with flower girls and bridesmaids all dressed in white. Mrs. Beaver designed and supervised the dresses for the bridal party.

The condition under which some of the Indians lived and worked, and their treatment by the Company's employees, aroused Beaver's ire. Following the practice of the Indian tribes around the fort, slaves were kept at the establishment, and this Beaver protested to the governor and committee, who sent instructions for it to stop. A number of Hawaiians, or Sandwich Islanders as they were then called, were at the fort, having been brought from their home islands as laborers under conditions that were little better than slavery. Beaver protested against the treatment given to these men also.⁴⁰ For years McLoughlin had carried things with a high hand, brooking no opposition, and earning the title, later bestowed upon him, of the "uncrowned king of Oregon." Beaver's championing of the Indian slaves and the indentured Sandwich Islanders hardly helped the two to get along harmoniously.

Beaver's protests to the governor and committee in London brought orders to McLoughlin to double his wine allowance, to build a church and rectory as soon as possible, to return the school to his charge, to provide him with a better man-servant and Mrs. Beaver with a female servant. None of these instructions were carried out, except the doubling of the wine allowance.⁴¹ Nevertheless, Beaver apparently felt that his efforts were proving of value, and he continued at Fort Vancouver, letting the second annual supply ship sail home without him.

Finally, the two men came to blows. In a formal report to London, Beaver referred to Mrs. McLoughlin, who was highly regarded by all and whose sole offense was the unwillingness of her husband to submit to a religious marriage ceremony, as a "female of notoriously loose character" and as "the kept mistress of the highest personage in your service." Upon learning of this, McLoughlin, on March 19, 1838, commanded the chaplain to come to his office, and when Beaver did not respond, he suspended him from his position and duties at the post. Later that day, the two men met in the yard of the fort by accident, and a violent encounter took place. Beaver's account, which is in essential agreement with Dr. McLoughlin's own later statements, except that the latter insisted that it was all accidental rather than deliberate, was as follows:⁴²

³⁹Marriage Register of Fort Vancouver, Marriages Nos. 1 to 4. Preserved in the archives of Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria, B. C.

⁴⁰"Indian Conditions in 1836-1838," ed. Nellie B. Pipes, in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXII, No. 4 (December, 1931), pp. 333-342.

⁴¹R. C. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁴²*Ibid.*, pp. 71, 72.

"I was walking across the Fort-yard to speak to my wife, who was standing in the door of our house, when this monster in human shape, (I hope that I do 'not bring against him a railing accusation,') advanced towards us, apparently in a violent passion, and upon my making way for him to pass, he came behind me, kicked me several times, and struck me repeatedly with his fists in the back of the neck. Unable to cope with him, from the immense disparity of our relative size and strength, I could not prevent him from wrenching out of my hands a stout stick, with which I was walking, and with which he next inflicted several severe wounds on my shoulders. He then seized me from behind, round my waist, and attempted to dash me on the ground, exclaiming, 'you scoundrel, I will have your life.' In the meantime the stick had fallen to the ground; my wife, on the impulse of the moment, picked it up; he took it, to use the epithet of an eye-witness, 'very viciously' out of her hands, and again struck me with it severely; we were then separated by the intervention of other persons."⁴³

The next day, having calmed down, McLoughlin offered to apologize publicly, but this offer Beaver spurned, and McLoughlin departed on March 22nd by the overland route for a leave in Canada and England.

James Douglas now took charge of the Fort, and he restored Beaver to his position, gave him charge of the school, permitted him to hold services in French, and generally encouraged him in his work. On the surface all seemed to be well, and in an early paragraph of a very long dispatch to the governor and committee which, though dated October 18, 1838, was drafted in part well before that date, Douglas said of the chaplain:

"The Church and School have been fully engaged in promoting moral and religious improvements, by diffusing the seeds of sound principles, and virtuous habits among the members of our own little community, and to a portion of the Native population. . . . The attention of the Revd. Mr. Beaver to the duties of his office, has been exemplary, and I think he has succeeded in awakening a more general desire for religious knowledge, among the persons of his communion, than existed previously to his arrival. His professional exertions have been unavoidably limited by the multitude of languages Native & Foreign that flourish here, placing almost insuperable obstacles in the way of religious Teachers, and, in a great measure, preventing that general acquaintance, and benevolent intercourse, with the lower classes, which, without degrading, so greatly extends the power & efficiency of the Clergy."⁴⁴

⁴³*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁴⁴"The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver," p. 239.

However, on October 2nd, Douglas read a long report from Beaver to the governor and committee in which it became apparent that the chaplain was dissatisfied with him, although they had been friendly in their day to day affairs. Beaver had particularly objected to some of the guests entertained by Douglas in his capacity as chief officer of the fort. Highly indignant, Douglas broke off all relationship with Beaver, and wrote a special letter⁴⁵ to the London office giving a full account of all his dealing with Beaver. In it he listed the wine supplied the chaplain during his entire stay, explained the difficulty of finding suitable domestic help, insisted that a separate dwelling for the Beavers was nearly finished, objected to some of Beaver's statements concerning Mrs. McLoughlin, dealt with a suggestion of the chaplain's for withholding food and medical care from "unmarried wives of old servants," listed all his guests, regretted letting children of eight and ten work too much in the garden, and agreed with Beaver only about the desirability of obtaining a married couple to conduct the school. Another sore point is best explained in Douglas' own words:

"It has always been the custom of this place to have the ceremony of committing to the earth the remains of the Company's deceased servants, their wives, or children, performed with the utmost solemnity, and the beautiful and impressive service of the English Church has been generally used on such occasions, equally as a tribute of respect to the departed, [and] as a seasonable relief to our own feelings. The persons so buried were of course always baptized; lay baptism, in cases of necessity being sanctioned by the Romish Church.

"It will appear from what I have just stated that in bestowing Christian burial on the two persons, one an old servant and the grown daughter of another, alluded to, . . . we were only following the former usages of the place, without the remotest intention of interfering with Mr. Beaver's duties, or casting reflections upon his character. But will not the most painful reflections unavoidably arise in the mind of every person who is informed by Mr. Beaver's own writings that two such persons, living at this Establishment, and neither of them indisposed to receive instruction, were left in their last moments without the comforts of religion, and died, in both cases of protracted disease, not only unbaptized but 'absolute heathens.'"⁴⁶

Douglas really let himself go in his report to the governor and committee when he wrote of Beaver's last days:

⁴⁵W. Kaye Lamb, ed., "The James Douglas Report on the 'Beaver Affair,'" *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XLVII, No. 1.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 26.

"Dissatisfied, apparently, with the exclusive privilege of remaining here, an idle spectator, of the busy throng around him; that Gentlemen also usurps a sort of prescriptive right, to libel, by his discoloured statements the character of every person with whom he associates. Were these writings, offered only for your perusal, the evil might be bourne in silence, as our characters are too well known to be affected by flimsy misrepresentation; but when, through the medium of Mr. Beavers select men, the direful passages, designed, as they report, not to reprove vice; but to blast reputations and procure expulsion from the service, are noised about throughout the settlement, they become an unsufferable nuisance and highly prejudicial to the service."⁴⁷

DEPARTURE FOR ENGLAND

Early in November, 1838, Herbert and Jane Beaver set sail on the *Columbia* for England "for the purpose of instituting legal proceedings against Chief Factor McLoughlin." On the way down the Columbia River the ship stopped at Fort George, now Astoria, Oregon, and there on November 8th Beaver married James Birnie (Beaver spells it Berney), the factor, and Charlotte Beaulieu, the daughter of a French father and an Indian mother. Birnie and his wife had been married before, fur-trade fashion, in Manitoba, but he was a member of the Episcopal Church of Scotland and desired that the union be solemnized by a clergyman of the Anglican Communion. Previously he had brought two of his children to Fort Vancouver to be baptized by Mr. Beaver. That day Beaver also baptized four more of their children. In 1846 Birnie founded the town of Cathlamet in Washington, and Charlotte Birnie was the first person confirmed in the "Oregon Country" by Bishop Thomas F. Scott, who arrived 1854.⁴⁸

During his two years of service on the "River Columbia, northwest coast of America," Chaplain Beaver must have exercised an effective ministry despite his unfortunate conflict with Dr. McLoughlin. He officiated at one hundred and twenty-four baptisms, the last four of which were at Fort George. Settlers from the "River Willamette," the "River Cowlitz," Fort Colville, and Fort George, brought their families to Fort Vancouver for his ministrations. Among those he baptized were Ellen, daughter of James and Amelia Douglas; Sarah Julia, daughter of Peter Skeen (as Beaver spells it) Ogden and Julia, an Indian woman; and John, son of George Simpson, governor of Rupert's Land. He also baptized a number of Sandwich Islanders and Indians. He

⁴⁷"The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver," Appendix A, pp. 266-267.

⁴⁸Thomas E. Jessett, "Bishop Scott and the Episcopal Church in Washington," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (January, 1947), p. 4.

solemnized nine marriages, all at Fort Vancouver except the last. He conducted twelve burials at Fort Vancouver. Four of these were of children six years or under, and one, if not two, was of a Sandwich Islander.⁴⁹

It is interesting to note that as long as the Company maintained its post at Fort Vancouver, which was until 1846, service were held every Sunday in the mess hall according to the Prayer Book of the Church of England. No better tribute to the work of Herbert Beaver could be given than the continuation of the service that he instituted, even in such unsatisfactory surroundings. Commodore Charles Wilkes, U. S. N., who visited Vancouver in 1841, wrote: "Dr. McLoughlin, a professed Catholic . . . has a priest of same faith officiating daily at the chapel. . . . The dining hall is given up on Sunday to the use of the ritual of the Anglican Church and Mr. Douglas or a missionary reads the service."⁵⁰ Eloisa McLoughlin, who in her later years returned to the Anglican Church, is authority for the information that at times her father himself conducted the ritual of the Book of Common Prayer in the dining room at Fort Vancouver.⁵¹

The voyage back home was long, and it was May, 1839, before Herbert and Jane Beaver were back in their homeland. Beaver at once took his case before the authorities of the Hudson's Bay Company. Shortly afterwards he was verbally informed that his services were being dispensed with, and he was paid a gratuity of £110 in full settlement of all his claims.⁵²

How Beaver felt at this time is well illustrated by the following from a letter written by him from Stoke-by-Nayland, Colchester, to the bishop of Montreal, under date of July 31, 1839:

"I should deem myself wanting in due respect, although it appears that I was unfortunately stationed neither in the diocese of Montreal, nor in that, nor in any other that I am aware, were I to omit giving your Lordship a concise account of my motives, together with my reasons for quitting my post.

"This was Fort Vancouver, the principal Factory of the Hudson's Bay Company on the North west coast of America, where I resided, with my wife, for upwards of two years, during which time I had to encounter from the Roman Catholic Head of the Establishment, who was desirous that all the children should be brought up in his persuasion, every species of op-

⁴⁹From a typewritten copy of *Beaver's Registers*, prepared by G. Hollis Slater, of Victoria, for Thomas E. Jessett.

⁵⁰Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, IV (New York, 1856), p. 331.

⁵¹Richard G. Montgomery, "The White-headed Eagle," p. 179, quoting from a biography of Dr. McLoughlin prepared by his daughter, Eloisa.

⁵²G. H. Slater, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

position to my ministry, great neglect of our private comforts which totally depended upon him, and much personal insult, ending in a most unprovoked and outrageous assault upon myself, in my wife's presence, at his hands, which determined us on leaving a country, where it was impossible for us to be useful or happy. And yet, my Lord, there was nothing in it or in the aborigines, which prevented us from being both in an eminent degree; but the conduct of those, with whom we were compelled more immediately to come in contact, was in numerous instances insufferable, uncompensated, as it was, by an adequate sphere of usefulness. We had made up our minds to dwell among *red* savages, but not among *white* ones, by which appellation facts justify me in characterizing many of my late fellow-servants; nor do I hesitate to affirm, some out (*sic*) by the threats of Chief Factor McLoughlin, the officer in charge above alluded to, that my life was endangered by a protracted continuance among them. All this persecution arose from my determination to cleanse the Augean stable of vice and immorality, in which the Company's servants were to generally immersed to the effectual prevention of the growth of all virtue and religion throughout the half-bred and native population. Yet, in defiance of every obstacle, I have . . . been blessed in making known to some, even in that uttermost end of the earth, that name, whereby alone they must be saved; and I have, I trust, laid, under His Almighty guidance, a foundation, on which the superstructure of Christianity and Civilization may at no very distant period, be erected. The means, by which this most desirable event can, with a fair prospect of success, humanly speaking, be accomplished, I have . . . fully pointed out to the Company; and I have, likewise, as a matter of duty, offered my services to carry them into execution. On my arrival, however, about two months since in England, they were, to my great satisfaction, dispensed with, Mr. Benjamin Harrison, the Deputy Governor . . . telling me, 'That my conscience was too tender, and that a Clergyman of less tender conscience would do better for their settlements'; which I took as the greatest compliment he could pay me, and which I esteemed as a more satisfactory approbation than any that I could have received, except from my own conscience and of my clerical friends. . . . Had not the brutal and cowardly attack for which I can obtain no redress, occurred; it was my intention to have remained sufficiently long to have afforded an opportunity of remedying all the grievances of which I had to complain, both of a public and private nature, albeit I am obliged to conclude that such waiting would have been in vain, from the numberless instances of ill-treatment of their inferior servants, and the reputed horrid massacres of unoffending Indians by persons in their service, which have been overlooked, if not encouraged, by the Company.

"Your Lordship will be pleased to learn, that, after experiencing no inconsiderable portion of misery and uncomfotableness, we are at length peacefully settled in the above parish, in which I have been licensed to the Chapelry of Leavenheath by the Lord Bishop of Ely."⁵³

CONCLUDING YEARS

At Leavenheath, Beaver was pioneering in his homeland. Here he started a third set of parish registers. But the quiet English countryside was not able to satisfy his restless nature. Four years later he was again on the frontier, only this time far from his Pacific Coast station. By June, 1843, he was at Fort Beaufort, Cape Colony, South Africa, as a chaplain in the British army. Here he served the civil community as well as the troops, and managed to get a church built. Just before it was opened he was transferred with most of the troops to Fort Hare in July, 1848. The rest of his life is recorded in two brief entries in the War Office records:

1848, 1 August. Officiating Chaplain to the troops at the frontier.

1858, 21 May. Died at Fort Beaufort.

Whether his faithful wife, Jane, survived him is not known.⁵⁴

Herbert Beaver spent a lifetime pioneering for the Church on the frontiers of civilization. Whatever his human weaknesses, he did his duty as he saw it without fear. His championship of the Indian slaves, of the Hawaiian indentured servants, and of the common folk at Fort Vancouver, reveal a deep sense of the dignity of all human beings, a keen sense of justice, and a wide sympathy for humanity. From reports about the conditions at the Red River Settlement in Canada, he undoubtedly knew that "fur-trade marriages" were taken very lightly in many cases, and that at that post there were many abandoned children left to be fed by the Company and cared for by the Church. His methods of endeavoring to correct the evils he encountered at Fort Vancouver may have been intemperate, he may have exaggerated somewhat, and his harshness towards those who would not accept his ministrations was uncharitable, but Herbert Beaver had ever before him the high standards of the Church. Furthermore, everywhere he labored he left results, and today in these widely scattered places the Church is strong, others having watered and reaped where he first sowed.

⁵³G. H. Slater, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Oecumenical Ideals of the Oxford Movement. By Henry R. T. Brandreth, Priest of the Oratory of the Good Shepherd. London, S. P. C. K., 1947, vi-90 pp. 7/6.

A movement whose most famous manifesto was a series of Tracts for the Times and against Popery and Dissent might seem to promise a reinforcement rather than a transcending of Anglican exclusiveness; and such was the case with some of those connected with the Oxford Movement. However, its leaders and most of their followers were led by their faith in One Catholic Church to see the Church of England as part of a larger whole, and from this followed a revival of desire for that Catholic Communion which the Church of England had enjoyed in early times and longed for again in the seventeenth century. Fr. Brandreth, whose knowledge of the bibliography of reunion movements is unequalled, here endeavors to "tell a plain tale" of some of the efforts to actualize this desire.

Like many other authors, he gives us both more and less than his title suggests. He begins with the 17th-18th century background, and his story goes on beyond the Oxford Movement strictly so called through the nineteenth century and in a closing chapter into the twentieth. On the other hand, the basis of the book was a series of articles in *Reunion*, the organ of the Confraternity of Unity, and in accordance with the interests of that organization its main thread is the series of efforts to prepare for honorable reunion between the Church of England and the Roman See. Eastern Orthodox and Old Catholic contacts are briefly, although correctly, summarized; Nonconformists appear only in a short chapter on the Home Reunion Society, active from 1873-1913 under the leadership of Lord Nelson, which endeavoured to commend church principles to dissenters, supporting "the removal of abuses and defects which may justly give offence." The main story is on the surface a series of rebuffs, for which Cardinal Manning and his successors are largely responsible. Yet it must be remembered that the Lambeth Conference of 1920 made its own the Anglo-Catholic insistence that our ultimate plans for the reunion of Christendom must include "the great Latin Communion of the West," and the Malines Conversations are only one of a number of valuable contacts with members of that Communion in our day. The January Octave of Unity seems likely before long to have as many alleged founders as the cities which claimed Homer; as is natural in a series originating in *Reunion*, Fr. Brandreth associates it with the pro-papal principles of its early Anglican supporters—it is one of the paradoxes of this topic that its wider acceptance is largely due to

the broader basis on which the observance was promoted by Canon Couturier, of Lyons, whose own loyalty to papal principles was, of course, undoubted.

One notes with pleasure several incidental references to the American Church, some based on articles in this MAGAZINE—among them the important place of our "Russo-Greek Committee" in the significant advance in Anglican-Orthodox relations in the 1860's. (I believe, however, that in connection with Tractarian relations with American Churchmen Bishop Doane, p. 13, is a slip for Bishop Hobart, and that the first Orthodox Liturgy in New York was at Trinity Chapel, not Trinity Church, p. 58). A pleasing aspect of the book is its series of sidelights on great and holy men who have labored mightily in their day for the good estate of the Catholic Church—such as Pusey, Newman (both as Roman and Anglican), Lord Halifax, Cardinal Mercier, and others now often forgotten such as Bishop Forbes, of Brechin. The aspiration expressed in his charge of 1863 expressed the hopes which the Vatican Council failed to satisfy, but which we may yet see fulfilled, for "the hour when the Church of God shall again come together in its glory and strength, when, compelled by the crushing assaults of the common foe, and animated by the earnest desire of peace, all who believe in the Divinity of our Blessed Saviour, and in the necessity of a visible Church as His organ, shall assemble under the guidance of God Himself"

(The whole passage is striking: p. 54.)

E. R. HARDY, JR.

Gothic England: A Survey of National Culture, 1300-1550. By John Harvey (London, B. T. Batsford, Ltd.) 21s net.

Readers of Mr. Harvey's *Henry Yevele*, a scholarly and fascinating study of one of England's greatest architects, will not be surprised at this magnificent volume from the same pen. He has made the study of Gothic architecture, which has always been a delight, one of living interest. While we worship with unceasing pleasure in our ancient churches, we are, through Mr. Harvey's diligent research, no longer in ignorance of the names of the architects: their very personality now becomes to us real and vivid.

Not many years back it was the fashion to decry "the Perpendicular," "the national style of English," as Mr. Harvey so happily calls it, and to label its finest later developments as decadent. It was a fashion revolting to not a few, and it is a joy to read in *Gothic England* so able an appreciation of its splendid achievements. Where in Europe shall we find splendours greater than the naves of Canterbury and Winchester, the angel tower of Canterbury, and the tower and spire of Salisbury, to name but a few masterpieces? The towers of this period are indeed its glory and have no rivals on the Continent; but if "the Perpendicular towers are the most spectacular of our national glories, they

are intrinsically no more wonderful than the vaults, the roofs, the cloisters, the gate houses, or the brilliantly planned colleges and domestic buildings."

We are glad to find especial attention drawn to that masterpiece of English architecture, the west front of Beverley Minster, which the fame of the great Cathedral of York has tended to obscure. Mr. Harvey rightly says: "Seen from the front, it is the most overwhelmingly impressive of all English facades."

The illustrations are numerous and all that could be desired.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

A Plea for Further Missionary Activity in Colonial America—Dr. Thomas Bray's *MISSIONALIA*. By Samuel Cyle McCulloch.

Dr. McCulloch tells how the Church Historical Society has recently purchased Dr. Thomas Bray's *Missionalia*, and in this interesting essay, reprinted from the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, reminds us of the debt we owe to that great founder of S. P. C. K.—Thomas Bray. Next year we shall begin to keep the 250th anniversary of the foundation of the Society, and naturally his name will be much in the minds of Church people.

Dr. McCulloch gives us a summary of this important book. It was intended in the first place as an attack on Berkeley's unpractical educational propositions, and as an attempt to bring forward a counter plan to Berkeley's college. But it is more than this. It contains advice to colonial clergymen, with some suggestions for their libraries. Bray promises to send over books to Maryland. Horn books, spelling books and catechisms will be sent for the instruction of Negroes, and if possible the conversion of Indians. He feels, however, that there is more chance of winning the Negroes, for they do not "roam about in a Wild and Savage Way of Living." Since Bray was in Maryland for only two years, it is remarkable that he was so closely familiar with colonial conditions, and had such an acute insight into the various problems of missionary work.

Dr. McCulloch's essay is worth careful reading.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

Lights and Shadows of The Sacred Ministry. By Archibald Campbell Knowles. West Park, N. Y. 1947. Pp. 160.

A manual on the work of the ministry in all its varied aspects from the pen of a parish priest who has spent nearly fifty years in the priesthood. It is the product of long experience and is both wise and understanding. Written from the standing of a definite Anglo-Catholic. Evangelicals may profit by its reading.

Christianity Today: A Survey of the State of the Churches. Edited by Henry Smith Leiper. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Company. 1947. Pp. 472.

The value and importance of this book is indicated by the fact that the foreword is written by the archbishop of Canterbury. Edited by Dr. Henry Smith Leiper, it is issued under the auspices of the American World Council of Churches. Its purpose is to appraise the condition of the churches in Continental Europe, The British Commonwealth, The Orthodox East, The Far East, The Americas, Africa, each chapter being written by an expert. Its primary aim is to examine how, in these various countries, the Church has emerged from the war; the character of its leadership and how far it is disposed to cooperate with other ecclesiastical groups. The editor had arranged for a Roman Catholic to write a chapter on the relation of the Church of Rome to the Orthodox and Protestant bodies only to find that the writer "at the last minute sorrowfully confessed that he found himself prevented from doing it." The book should be carefully studied by all who have the cause of reunion at heart. All the chapters are informing—notably those on the Orthodox Church in Russia, on the situation in China and the complexities of the situation in India. Since publication the editor has sent out a correction in the Chapter on Spain (p. 95). It reads, "The writer of this chapter makes the late Cardinal Gibbons (quoted in the text) responsible for what is a statement made by Orts Gonzales to the Cardinal. It is, therefore, without any significance as representing Roman Catholic views of the church in Spain." This correction will be made in later editions. One's net impression in a study of the book is that the Christian world is slowly but surely emerging from the night of disunion to a larger understanding.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Towards the Conversion of England. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. Pp. 172. \$1.

A Canadian reprint of the report of a joint committee appointed in 1944 at the suggestion of the late William Temple, archbishop of Canterbury, and charged with the duty "to survey the whole problem of modern Evangelism, with special reference to the spiritual needs and prevailing intellectual outlook of the non-worshipping members of the community."

With penetrating judgment it is described by a Canadian editor as "probably the most important religious document of a Protestant character that has been issued in the British Empire in this century, not for its official character, but for the wisdom and breadth of understanding with which it approaches the tremendous problem of the irreligious character of the contemporary age."

It begins with a summary of religious conditions prevailing in England, and generally speaking, which prevail in the United States of

America. It finds a definite drift from religion—a wholesale drift from organized religion. This drift is indicated by the decline in Church going, declaring “that only a small percentage of the nation today joins regularly in public worship of any kind.” The general result in what it calls “the collapse of Christian moral standards”—a sharp decline in truthfulness and personal honesty, and an alarming spread of sexual laxity and in gambling fever. “In the past 30 years the number of divorces has risen from about 500 per year to 12,250.”

The commission discusses the question as to what the Church has to meet the situation. Its answer is, “the Eternal Gospel.” The *content* of the Gospel is unchanging, but its *presentation* changes with each generation with its varying conditions. The presentation constitutes the chief problem of evangelism. A valuable section of the report deals with the relation of the clergy to evangelism on the one hand and that of the laity on the other.

Very suggestive is the section on “Modern Agencies of Propaganda” open to the Church, such as moving pictures. Over against an estimated attendance of some five million per week in churches, there are forty million at the movies, and the report points out that “the Church has made no effective effort to use this most powerful agency to evangelize the nation.” In the opinion of the committee “religious broadcasting is perhaps the greatest power for indirect evangelism offered to the Church.” There is a suggestive section on the use of the press with special emphasis on pamphlets and leaflets—a modernization of the old-fashioned tracts; also a section on the technique of advertising. The report concludes with a most excellent bibliography.

From this brief summary of the contents of this report it is obvious that it is as timely as it is fearless. Our National Council is committed to a campaign of evangelism, and we have much to learn from the English Church. Conditions in England and the United States vary to a degree, but, by and large, they are the same. Here also there is a decline in Church attendance; likewise a breakdown in moral standards. It would be a wonderful thing if our American clergy studied this report page by page.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Christian Marriage. By Floyd Van Keuren. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co. 1947. Pp. 182.

A revised edition of “A Handbook of Getting and Staying Happily Married.” Should be in the hands of all who are contemplating marriage, dealing with personal equipment for marriage, with a suggestive chapter on sex and Christianity.

Ancient Christian Writers. St. Augustine. Faith, Hope and Charity.
Translated by Louis A. Arand, S. S.. The Newman Book Shop,
Westminster, Maryland. 1947. Pp. 165.

The Catholic University of America is placing the Christian world under obligation by its series of Ancient Christian Writers, translated and annotated. This particular book was written by St. Augustine about 420-443 A. D. in response to his disciples who desired a handbook of Christian doctrine. Its thesis is that God is to be worshipped by three things—faith, hope and charity. Owing to the fact that, in the main, it is suggestive, rather than controversial, it can be read with profit by Protestants.

Brief notices of books and pamphlets which have been received bearing on the

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH

I

PERSONAL

Be Strong in Lord. By William T. Manning (retired Bishop of New York). New York: Morehouse-Gorham. 1947. Pp. 196.

For nearly fifty years Dr. Manning exercised a notable ministry in the city and diocese of New York, twenty-five years as bishop. These twenty-five sermons, preached on varying occasions, form a summary of his teaching, embracing Marriage and Divorce, the Power of the Oxford Movement, the Gift of the Episcopate to the Church in America; two are on the Cathedral for which he did so much. The sermon on Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order reveals him as a disciple of Bishop John Henry Hobart. His long continued interest in the problem of slum housing in New York reflects his attitude to the responsibility of the Church for the welfare of the common people. It is well that he leaves to us a memento of his long ministry.

E. C. C.

A Portrait of the Rt. Rev. Lucien Lee Kinsolving, First Bishop of the Mission Founded in Southern Brazil. By Arthur B. Kinsolving. 1947. Pp. 22.

This book has a twofold value. It is an intimate sketch of a personality of impelling charm. It is also an excellent account of the beginnings of the Mission of the Church in Southern Brazil, of which Kinsolving was one of the early missionaries and of which he became

the first bishop. It is a substantial contribution to the history of the foreign missions of this Church, and incidentally to the now almost forgotten work of the American Church Missionary Society, which did so much for Latin America.

E. C. C.

Cross on the Range: Missionary in Wyoming. By Samuel E. West. Philadelphia: The Church Historical Society. 1947. Pp. 105.

A vivid and realistic story of the experience of a youthful missionary in Wyoming working under the direction of the late Nathaniel S. Thomas, then the missionary bishop. He began his work in Wyoming in 1912 as a lay reader. After his ordination he was assigned to the charge of Union Pacific coal camp at Hanna, Wyoming, living for the most part in a miner's cabin. Later for two years he conducted a mission church in northern Wyoming. To his duties as missionary he added that of school teacher. After being ordered deacon he was appointed to Powell, which had no paved streets, no sidewalks and only one automobile, after which he became priest in charge at Buffalo, forty miles from a railroad. His rectorship of the parish in Sheridan and his chaplaincy to the Episcopal students in the University of Wyoming ended his 13 years' ministry in that state. In the days to come Mr. West's story will be valuable as illustrating missionary life and work on the frontier. It is worth preserving.

E. C. C.

II

PAROCHIAL

125th Anniversary of Christ Church Cathedral, Louisville, Kentucky. 1947.

Two sermons preached by 1. Very Rev. Dean Norvell E. Wicker, and 2. The Rt. Rev. Charles Clingman, Bishop of Kentucky. Interesting sidelights on the early days of the Church in Louisville.

E. C. C.

The Story of Old St. John's, 1722-1946. By A. C. Larned.

Includes correspondence with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts as far back as 1722 concerning the establishment of what was called "the King's Church," Providence, Rhode Island.

E. C. C.

St. Mary's Annual Messenger. Golden Jubilee Issue. 1946. Pp. 60.

Contains an historical sketch of the parish in Sherwood Park, Yonkers, New York, which began with a Sunday school, together with a list of the ministers who have served the parish and a record of the organi-

zations and their officers. A rather unusual feature in the reproduction of photographs of men and women of the parish who served in the war.
E. C. C.

Fifty Years of St. Stephen's Church, Woodlawn, New York.

A booklet issued to mark the celebration of the jubilee of the parish, with excellent illustrations, and a well written historical sketch entitled, "Looking Back."

The Church of the Ascension, Mount Vernon, N. Y. 1896-1946.

A well written and well illustrated booklet published in connection with the golden jubilee, and including a history of the parish, which began with a kindergarten, and has developed into one of the best known parishes, in Westchester County, in the diocese of New York.

Christ Church, 1796-1946, Lexington, Kentucky. 1946. Pp. 108.

The second edition of the history of a parish first published in 1898, and now revised and enlarged to commemorate its 150th anniversary. It includes an historical sketch brought down to date; biographical notes on the bishops of Kentucky and Lexington; the rectors and assistant ministers; wardens and vestrymen and a bibliography. The work began with the record that the Rev. John Lythe, "of the Church of England," conducted divine service on Sunday, the 28th of May, 1775. Another record reads that "Lythe was also the first minister of any kind to offer up the sacrifice of prayer or praise to the living God in Kentucky." Some interesting facts are brought out. One concerns the establishment of an Episcopal theological seminary in 1834 by Bishop Benjamin B. Smith. It survived for ten years. Another records the baptism of Henry Clay at Christ Church at the mature age of 72. There are likewise some historical omissions. No mention is made of the fact that Bishop B. B. Smith was formally presented for trial charged by his enemies with untruthfulness, the verdict of the ecclesiastical court being "guilty, but not culpable." He lived to be presiding bishop. The bibliography should have included the article on Bishop Smith in Henry Codman Potter's book, *Reminiscences of Bishops and Archbishops*.

Two Hundred Years of Old Trinity, 1746-1946. Published by Trinity Cathedral of the Episcopal Diocese of Newark, New Jersey. 1946. Pp. 72.

The story of Trinity Church, Newark, New Jersey, now the cathedral. It outlines the life and work of what began as a mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The first

Prayer Book service in Newark was held in 1729. Before the advent of a settled minister a church was built in 1743, and three years later George II granted a royal charter. In 1743 the parish sent John Checkley to England for ordination, but before he could return home he died of smallpox in London. Then it was that the S. P. G. appointed the Rev. Isaac Browne, missionary at Brookhaven, Long Island, and a graduate of Yale. He is described as "a very good Preacher and Liver, and prudent and Discreet in his Behaviour." During the War of the Revolution the church was occupied by the American troops as a military hospital. Mr. Browne was a loyalist and was obliged to take refuge in New York and afterwards in 1783 in Nova Scotia, the remainder of his days being spent in comparative poverty. He died on the 12th of February, 1787.

One cannot but regret that the story is not more fully told. The material is ample and available. In the Library of Congress there are copies of 114 letters written by Mr. Browne to the S. P. G. between 1733 and 1785; likewise the parish has the minutes of the vestry from 1784 to 1946. They would constitute an invaluable contribution to the history of the American Episcopal Church.

E. C. C.

Christ Church, Ballston Spa, the Story of a Parish. By William A. Andrews. Ballston Spa, N. Y. 1945. Pp. 108.

Grace Church, Albany, N. Y. By Russell Carter. Privately printed. 1945. Pp. 90.

Anyone who has done much work in American Church history realizes the vital importance of parish histories; as the historian of the diocese of Albany I rejoice that these two unassuming but useful volumes have appeared. The parish of Christ Church, Ballston Spa, is in a sense a typical upstate parish. Founded in 1787 by a group of laymen, almost without clerical aid or support, it was the first to be erected in upstate New York after the American Revolution. Then came years of struggle, when the parish, linked with other tiny units of like sort, floundered about trying to pay the parson's salary—always a problem in those days. Aid from Trinity Church, New York, slow but steady growth with the growth of its community, eventual separation from its sister parishes, gradual accumulation of endowment, erection of a gothic revival building—in this case by Upjohn—this is the story of its life, and that of many like it. Mr. Andrews has done his work well. Realizing that no parish lives in a vacuum, he relates his account to the geography of the region, to secular history, to the economic and social life of the community. With genuine historical imagination he has given us brief but convincing sketches of the characters involved. The whole is thoroughly documented, and I think quite accurate—and that is a virtue not always possessed by parish histories.

Dr. Carter's account of Grace Church, Albany, is less colorful, largely because he has a less colorful subject. Written annalistically,

it deals with the rise of the parish from a nondescript small city parish, competing not too successfully with older and wealthier sisters, and its development into the most definitely Anglo-Catholic parish in its diocese. Its history is in some sort a summary of change and growth from Tractarianism, through early ritualism, to modern Anglo-Catholicism. May more of our scholarly laymen employ their leisure as usefully as these two writers have done.

GEORGE E. DE MILLE.

A History of the Parish of St. Ignatius in the City of New York, 1871-1946. By Louis H. Gray.

Anglo-Catholicism invaded the city of New York in the 60's. Its pioneer was St. Alban's parish; then came Christ Church, St. Ignatius and St. Mary the Virgin. St. Alban's had a short life. This slender volume in reciting the origin and history of St. Ignatius is a very important contribution to the development of Anglo-Catholicism. In 1862 the Rev. Ferdinand Cartwright Ewer came from San Francisco to become rector of Christ Church, then at Fifth Avenue and 55th Street. While at Harvard he became an avowed infidel and afterwards returned to the bosom of the mother Church, was ordained by Bishop W. Ingraham Kip and became a strong Anglo-Catholic. In 1868 he preached and published a series of eight sermons with the provocative title of *The Failure of Protestantism*. They created a profound sensation and cost him the rectorship of Christ Church. Some 120 of his people followed him into the wilderness; rented a building on Seventh Avenue. In 1872 it leased an old Dutch Reformed Church in West 40th Street and was incorporated. There was an early low mass on Sunday; high mass with sermon at eleven, with morning prayer at 9, together with a low mass every week day. In 1885 Dr. Ewer was stricken in the pulpit while preaching at Montreal and died. His successor at St. Ignatius was the Rev. Dr. Arthur Ritchie, who came from Chicago, where he had been a thorn in the flesh to Bishop McLaren, who was himself a strong High Churchman. In 1879 he reserved the blessed sacrament and is said to have been the first priest of this Church to have benediction. He was a much more advanced ritualist than Dr. Ewer. At St. Ignatius he established incense at high mass; confessional boxes and fasting communions at low masses only, as well as reservation and benediction. These and other practices incurred the official disapproval of Bishop Henry Codman Potter, who for two years declined to visit the parish for confirmation, and Father Ritchie, for the sake of peace, offered to omit benediction. The author of this history treats this period with rare judgment and in good taste. In 1913 Ritchie's health began to fail and he resigned, being succeeded by Father Max Ganter, and later by Father William P. McCune, the present rector, who carries on the Catholic traditions of the parish and its services.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church

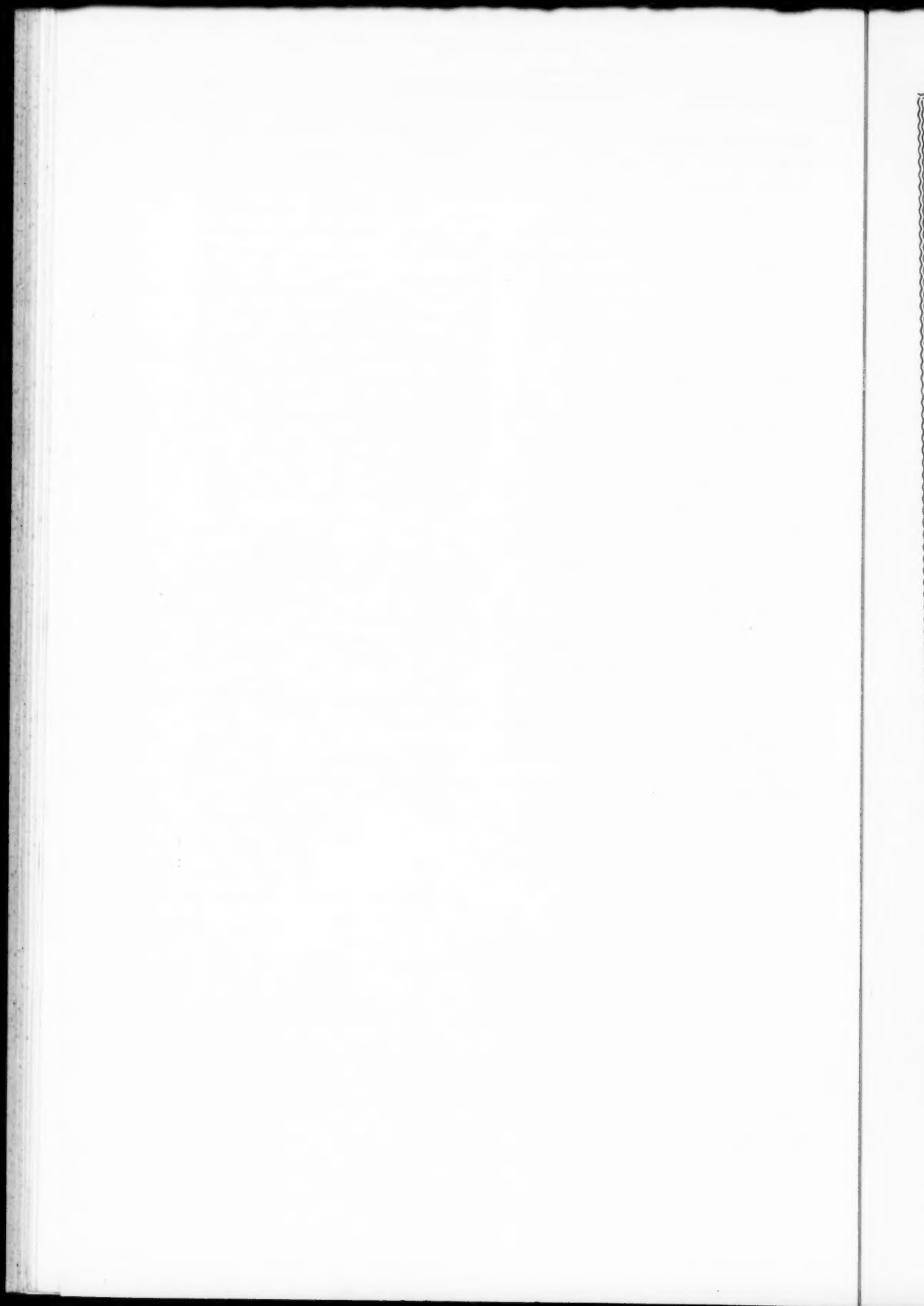
INDEX TO VOLUME XVI (1947)

Four Numbers—March, June, September, December, 1947

R—denotes Book Reviews; (bp.) bishop.
Books and Periodicals in *Italics*

A

- Adams, Rev. Alexander, 324, 328, 328n.
Adams, Rev. Benjamin, 323, 328.
Adams, Rev. James, 325, 328, 328n.
Adventures in Parish History, 153-166.
Agnew, Rev. Andrew, 326, 328, 328n.
All Saints' Church, N. Y. City, 76.
Allardis, Rev. Thomas, 328, 328n.
Allardes, Rev. Thomas, 328, 328n.
Allen, Rev. Mr., 324, 344.
Alsiss, Rev. William, 324, 328.
Alsop (Cl.), 324, 344.
Ames, Gertrude P., 371.
Ancient Christian Writers, R438.
Anderson, Rev. William, 324, 328, 328n.
Andrews, Rev. William A., 323, 328, 328n, 441.
Anglican Church, *see* Church of England.
Anglican Church of Scotland:
—Union with the Scottish Episcopal Church, 376.
Anglican Communion, Expansion of, in the 18th Century, 292-301.
Anglican Communion Today, R313.
Anglican Sisterhoods, Beginnings of, 350-372.
Anglo-Lutheran Relations, Colonial, 217-220.
Annals of Scottish Episcopacy, 376, 381.
Arbuthnot, Rev. James, 343-344, 344n.
Archbishops of Canterbury:
—Fisher, Geoffrey F., 230, 258-259.
—Moore, John, 375.
Archbishops of York:
—Garbett, Cyril F., 231-232.
Arand, Louis A., 438.
Arrowsmith (Cl.), 342, 344.
Ascot Priory, England, 356.
Asten, Amelia, 364.
Auchinleck, Rev. Andrew, 325, 328, 328n.
Auchmuty, Rev. Samuel, 22-26; port. opp. 23.
Ayres, Anne, 362.



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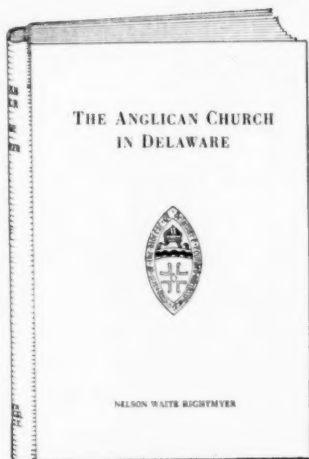
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

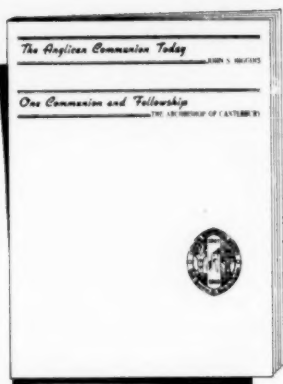
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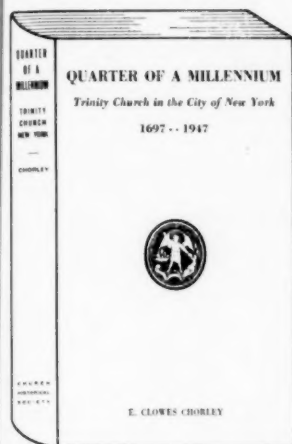
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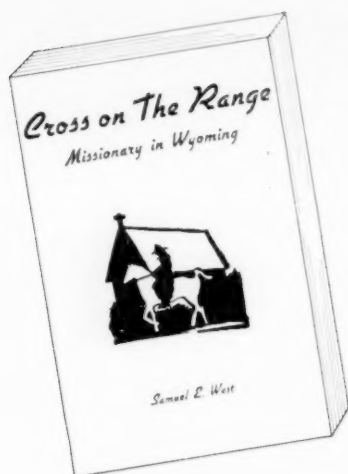
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